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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
IRISH REBELLION.

PART I.

HARROP'S ELEGANT EDITION.

**THE
HISTORY
OF THE
IRISH REBELLION;**

IN THE YEAR 1798, &c.

**CONTAINING AN IMPARTIAL NARRATIVE OF
THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE**

IRISH REVOLUTIONISTS,

From the Year 1782, till the total suppression of the Insurrection;

WITH A REVIEW OF THE

HISTORY OF IRELAND,

**FROM ITS FIRST INVASION BY THE ENGLISH, TILL THE
COMMENCEMENT OF THE REBELLION.**

TWO VOLUMES IN ONE.

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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
IRISH REBELLION.

PART I.

Review of the History of Ireland, from the first Invasion of the English, in the Year eleven hundred and seventy.

CHAP. I.

BEFORE entering upon a detail of that unhappy struggle between the people of Ireland and Great Britain, which has distracted and considerably impaired the population, consequently injured the trade and diminished the wealth, of the country of the former, we shall take a short retrospective view (that we may the better understand the nature of our subject) of its general history from the time of its first invasion by the English during the reign of Henry II. in the year one thousand one hundred and seventy, to the period more immediately connected with the principal object of our consideration.

Torn by intestine dissensions, divided into a number of weak and petty states, and harassed by the incessant invasions of the Danes, the people of Ireland, with the exception of a few religious devotees, continued later than most other European nations in a state of barbarian darkness and commotion. No law had any weight but that of force; no tie extended further than the limits of the territory possessed by any particular sect or clan into which the people were divided; a chieftain distin-

guished by strength of body, ferocity of manners, or superior skill in conducting a predatory band in quest of plunder, was the only object of their attachment and admiration. In such a state of society, acts of treachery and brutality abounded, which were not unfrequently alleviated by noble instances of magnanimity, benevolence and hospitality; virtues rarely to be met with in civilized life, but nearly peculiar to the ardent temper and elevated imagination of the savage.

Meantime England, consolidated into one great and powerful kingdom, under the dominion of William I. commonly called the Conqueror, and his successors, advanced rapidly in knowledge, in civilization, and in strength, and began to be sensible of her consequence and importance on the theatre of Europe. Occupied previous to the reign of Henry II. with repelling the restless inroads of her neighbours the Scots, and attempts to reduce them under her dominion, with defending and enlarging her possessions on the Continent, and with repressing domestic animosities, she began under the administration of that great and politic, though not always fortunate prince, to turn her attention towards Ireland. The proximity of its situation to England, and the fertility of its soil were not overlooked by Henry, who was fully sensible of the vast advantages which might accrue to his own kingdom from the conquest of the sister island.

Statesmen, to suit the purposes of their ambition, are seldom at a loss for plausible pretences to justify their undertakings; but, at a time when the popes, taking advantage of the truly deplorable state of mental darkness in which mankind were involved, arrogated to themselves not only supreme authority over the spiritual concerns of the church, but the absolute disposal of the temporal affairs of the world, the consent of the bishop of Rome was deemed by Henry necessary to give a sanction to his projected enterprise.

Owing, however, to the state of affairs on the Continent, he was, for several years, obliged to suspend the execution of his plan, though the ambitious prelate, eager to extend the sphere of his own authority by having the Irish church reduced to a complete dependance on the see of Rome, issued a bull in the

year one thousand one hundred and fifty-six, authorising him to take possession of the country. This was presented to Henry, together with a ring, in token of his being invested with the sovereignty of Ireland.

While affairs were in this situation, however, Dermod Mac-Murchad, Irish provincial king of the countries of Ossory, Decies, and other territories of Leinster, having seduced and carried off the wife of O'Rourke, king of Breffney, while the latter was absent on a pilgrimage, the husband called on Roderic O'Connor, king of Connaught, to assist him in punishing the Leinsterian prince. By their united efforts, and the defection of his own subjects, who hated him for his tyranny, Dermod was compelled to fly, and to leave his mistress, together with his kingdom, at the disposal of his enemies. Instigated by revenge, he fled, with rancour in his breast, to Guienne, in South France, where Henry then was; and, prostrating himself at his feet, implored his protection, and his assistance towards regaining his dominions; promising, should he succeed, to hold them in vassalage of the crown of England.

Henry saw at once the benefit that might accrue from this occurrence; and, encouraging the fugitive prince by the most courteous demeanour, accepted his vassalage, and held out to him hopes of vigorous support. As his situation would not at that time allow his personal interference in his behalf, he presented him with letters of credence, addressed to his own subjects, permitting them to enter into the service of the monarch of Leinster.

With these he departed to England, and published them in Bristol, then the principal port of communication between England and Ireland. There he remained a whole month without a prospect of gaining succour, and had begun to despair of restoration, when Richard, earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, on account of his feats of archery, distinguished no less by his affability and generosity than by his military talents, but who was estranged from the royal favour and of dissipated fortune, was pointed out to him as likely to close with his proposals.

He accordingly pressed Richard to espouse his cause, and even promised to give him his daughter Eva in marriage, and to make him heir to his dominions. Overcome by such seducing offers, the earl promised to assist him with a considerable force in the ensuing spring, provided he could obtain from Henry his particular licence and approbation.

Conceiving that by this negotiation he had effectually secured the recovery of his territories, Dermot immediately proceeded to St. Davids in South Wales, intending to return by that course privately to Ireland, and there to await in silence the arrival of his ally with a force to support him. During his journey, he had the good fortune to add to his adherents, Robert Fitzstephen, governor of Cardigan, a magnanimous, brave, and skilful soldier, eminent for loyalty, whom Rice-ap-Griffith, a Welch chieftain, who commanded in the country about Pembroke, had imprisoned, that he might not be in a situation to oppose an intended revolt against Henry. To Fitzstephen and to his maternal brother, Maurice Fitzgerald, Dermot bound himself to cede the town of Wexford, with a large portion of land, as soon as he should be fairly re-established.

After receiving their solemn protestations to join him in the spring with their followers, he set sail with his Irish train and a few Welch adventurers, and landed without being observed on the Irish coast, about the end of the year one thousand one hundred and sixty-nine.

Punctual to his engagements, Fitzstephen, together with Maurice de Prendergarst, sailed from Wales in the beginning of May one thousand one hundred and seventy; and making his appearance on the Southern coast of Wexford, disembarked his forces, consisting of forty knights, sixty men in armour, and five hundred archers, in the bay of Bannow, twelve miles from the town of Wexford, which, after he had been joined by Dermot, surrendered to his arms, though not before the garrison had sustained a vigorous assault.

Having received a further reinforcement by the arrival of Fitzgerald, Dermot's power was so considerably increased, that he was enabled to reduce the lord of Ossory, whose territories, together with those of Decies and Glandelagh, he had

ravaged and laid waste : and even O'Connor, who made his appearance against him with a numerous army, consisting of the troops of Connaught, Breffney, Thomond, and some lords of Leinster, afraid to risk a battle, was obliged to come to an accommodation, and to acknowledge him as king of Leinster ; on condition that he did homage for his dominions, that he introduced no more British adventurers into Ireland, and that he delivered up his favourite son as an hostage for the performance of the treaty.

After receiving the submission of Dublin, and giving his daughter in marriage to Donald O'Brien, prince of Thomond, who consequently renounced his allegiance to O'Connor, and united his fortunes to those of his father-in-law, Dermod began, notwithstanding the late treaty, to aspire to sovereign power, and to plot the downfall of the king of Connaught.

To secure the accomplishment of this great object, he dispatched pressing solicitations to the earl of Pembroke to hasten his preparations, who accordingly, notwithstanding a peremptory mandate from Henry to desist from the enterprise, set sail with an army of between two and three hundred knights, and about thirteen hundred archers, and arrived in the vicinity of Waterford, in the month of August, one thousand one hundred and seventy-one. In conjunction with Raymond le Gross, a nephew of Fitzstephen, whom he had sent before him with the vanguard, he advanced immediately to the attack of that city. Though twice repulsed by the garrison, he returned a third time to the assault with determined valour, and having succeeded in making a breach, rushed with irresistible impetuosity into the town, putting all, without distinction, to the sword, till the arrival of Dermod put a period to the slaughter. After consummating the nuptials of the earl with Eva, Dermod's daughter, according to their original stipulation, the chieftains marched with their united forces to chastise an insurrection of the citizens of Dublin, and to oppose O'Connor, who had assembled an army of about twenty thousand men. Intimidated by the formidable appearance of the British troops, the forces of the king of Connaught returned home. Dublin was taken by assault, and many of the inhabitants slaughtered or drowned in

the Liffey; while Hesculf Mac-Torcal, the governor, with several others, having escaped on board some ships, fled to the Hebrides. Strongbow was invested with the lordship of Dublin, whence he marched into Meath, carrying slaughter and devastation in his train.

The Irish, accustomed only to desultory warfare, incapable of making a long continued effort to resist their enemies, and not politic enough to unite in their own defence, appear, after various vicissitudes of fortune, to have been unable to cope with the steady valour and discipline of the British adventurers, who rapidly gained fresh confederates and fresh ground in the island. Henry, however, who indeed had forbid Strongbow's departure for Ireland, grown jealous of his success, issued a mandate, enjoining all his subjects in that country instantly to return home under penalty of high treason, prohibiting all supplies to be conveyed to them from his own kingdom, and expressed in high terms his disapprobation of their proceedings. Deprived, by this jealous act of his sovereign, of all assistance from abroad, deserted, in consequence, by many of his knights and their followers, who obeyed the order of their sovereign, and abandoned, after the death of Dermot which quickly followed, by the greater part of his Irish allies, the earl experienced a nearly fatal reverse of fortune.

O'Connor, taking advantage of his destitute situation, aided by the exertions of Lawrence O'Tool, archbishop of Dublin, who flew from chief to chief, exhorting them to seize so fair an opportunity to expel the invaders, mustered an army stated at thirty thousand men, and invested him in Dublin with his whole force, while a fleet of thirty Danish vessels blockaded the harbour. Fatigued by unceasing watchfulness during a siege of two months, oppressed by famine and disease, the garrison was reduced to the last extremity, and having no hope of succour, were compelled to make overtures of accommodation. By the advice of O'Tool, their proposals were rejected, the besiegers declaring that no terms would be listened to which had not for their basis the total evacuation of the country by the Britons. An animated speech made by Maurice Fitzgerald determined the English troops: "If we must fall," said he, "let it not be

by the hands of a treacherous and revengeful foe, after we shall have put ourselves into their power: let us rather, while they fancy us sunk in despondence, rush on their entrenchments, and die, as we have lived, the terror of our barbarian enemies." His magnanimous spirit was caught by the assembly. Next day an assault, rendered furious by desperation, was unexpectedly made upon the assailants. It was pointed at the quarter where O'Connor commanded in person. The onset was impetuous, irresistible; the rout instantaneous! O'Connor was obliged to mingle half naked with his flying troops, who were pursued with terrible slaughter. The other Irish chieftains, witnesses of the disaster of their leader, retired with the utmost precipitation, leaving the British masters of the field, of an immense booty, and of provisions sufficient to support them during a whole year. The Danish fleet also withdrew, leaving the sea as well as the land open to the successful adventurers.

Mean time Fitzstephen was closely besieged by the Wexfordians in the fortress of Carrick, which he himself had built near their city. Though supported by only a very slender garrison, he repeatedly repulsed them with great slaughter. Unable to storm the fortress, the Wexfordians had recourse to the most execrable, perfidious, and despicable means of success, perhaps ever recorded in the annals of any country. In a parley they assured Fitzstephen that Roderic O'Connor had taken Dublin by storm, and that he had put the whole garrison to the sword: They represented to him that it would be vain to think of resistance when he should approach to make the same execution at Carrick: They declared themselves to be impressed with such respect for his virtues, that, if he would but surrender himself to them, they would ship him and his followers for Wales, in order that they might escape the resentment of the vengeful prince. Two bishops, dressed in their pontifical robes, solemnly swore to their truth, laying at the same time their hands on the cross, on the host, and on the adored relics of saints. Fitzstephen fell a victim to their perfidy. He accepted their terms, and was immediately thrown into chains; while many of his companions expired under the horrible and inhuman tortures which the malignant fury of their captors inflicted on them.

Strongbow, who, the day previous to that on which he routed O'Connor before Dublin, had received from Donald Kevanah, one of the few Irish chieftains who continued firm in his attachment to the English, intelligence of the danger of Carrick, marched immediately to its relief. He narrowly escaped destruction from an ambuscade, in passing through a defile in the territory of Hi-drone, in the modern county of Carlow. At no great distance from Wexford, he received the mortifying information of Fitzstephen's captivity, together with a threat from the captors, who had burned their city and retired to an islet in the harbour, that, if he attempted any thing against them, they would without mercy put their few remaining prisoners to death. Alarmed for their safety, he immediately turned aside from Wexford, and directed his course towards Ferns, the regal seat of the monarchs of Leinster, where, after he had punished several of his enemies, and established some useful regulations, he received a special summons from Henry to appear and answer for his conduct : a summons which he did not think it prudent to disobey ; but, appointing governors in his absence, repaired instantly to England.

Inconsiderable as the restoration of Dermot, a criminal and exiled prince, to his principality, may at first view appear, yet, as the consequences of the invasion occasioned by his application to a few Welch adventurers, were far from being unimportant, we have been particular in tracing the progress of his arms and those of his allies. History, not satisfied with merely relating facts, disdains not to descend to the most minute and remote occurrences, estimating their importance, not by their real magnitude, but by the effects they are likely to have produced on the state of the period to which her attention is more immediately directed, and by the light which they may throw on the subject of her consideration.

We shall now endeavour to pursue the progress of the English arms and policy, during a period more brilliant, indeed, but productive, for a considerable length of time, of consequences less obvious, and of advantages less solid, than reasonably might have been expected to follow the successful period we have just had under our observation. Considered as an alien

from the constitution of that country of which it has become a member, depressed by the iron hand of power, through the insolence and rapacity of governors unacquainted with the genius, the manners, and the disposition of its people, unhappy Ireland has been upwards of six centuries the scene of bloodshed and desolation. The contracted views of those placed at the head of its administration, by causing them to be treated in general as objects of suspicion, rather than with the liberality due to a free people living under the protection of a free government, have, instead of bringing the Irish to be peaceable and useful members of that community to which they appertain, rendered them turbulent and involuntary subjects, ready at all times to arm against those whom they esteem their oppressors, and to plunge themselves into all the miseries, the inconceivable horrors, of a civil war.

CHAPTER II.

HENRY, previous to the recal of Strongbow, had been engaged in a dangerous contest with one of his own subjects, **Becket**, whom he had raised to the archbishopric of Canterbury. Instigated by the pope, **Adrian III.** the same who granted to **Henry** the sovereignty of Ireland, the archbishop had pertinaciously opposed the constitutions of **Clarendon**, whereby the civil was declared independent on the ecclesiastical authority. Incensed by his insolence and ingratitude, **Henry**, amongst other passionate exclamations, was overhead to complain that no one had attempted to rid his sovereign of the turbulent and refractory prelate. Four of his knights, zealously attached to the person of their monarch, imagining they could not better display their promptitude in his service, silently quitted France, where **Henry** then was, and making all speed to England, assassinated the archbishop in church, while performing his duty at the altar. **Henry** was stunned by the intelligence of this atrocious deed, which threatened to arm the papal power for his destruction. By his great abilities, however, he frustrated the designs of his enemies at the court of Rome, and having brought matters to an accommodation, he at length found leisure to attend to the state of Ireland, and, after his return to England, had summoned Strongbow, as we formerly observed, to appear and answer for his conduct.

The earl waited on the king at Newnham, near Gloucester, and surrendering to him his territory round Dublin and his

maritime fortresses, was, by the intercession of his uncle, **Hervey de Mountmorres**, received into the royal favour, and permitted to retain all his other Irish possessions under **Henry** and his heirs for ever.

Henry, now determined to push his personal expedition to Ireland with the utmost vigour, accompanied by the earl, proceeded through South Wales to **Pembroke**, seizing the castles of many Welch chieftains in his route: and at length having completed his preparations, set sail from **Milford Haven** with a fleet of two hundred and forty vessels and about five thousand men. He arrived in the harbour of **Waterford**, on the feast of **St. Luke**, in **October**, one thousand one hundred and seventy-two. Destitute of a common interest to unite them in their own defence, and already dispirited by the successes of the first adventurers, the Irish made little or no resistance to the king of **England**. His progress resembled more the procession of a triumphant prince through his own dominions than the march of an invading army. The chieftains flocked eagerly from all quarters to make their obeisance: he had only to accept their homage. The men of **Wexford** waited on him soon after his landing, and delivered up their prisoner, **Fitzstephen**, whom they represented as a traitor. He was afterwards pardoned; and surrendering to **Henry** the town of **Wexford**, was reinstated in his other possessions. The grandeur of **Henry**, his condescension, his munificence, seem to have made great impression on the minds of the Irish chieftains, his new subjects, whom he magnificently entertained during the feast of **Christmas** in an immense fabric erected for the purpose in the suburbs of **Dublin**; while **William Fitzandelm** and **Hugh de Lacey** were dispatched with a body of troops against **O'Connor of Connaught**, and **O'Nial**, the powerful prince of **Ulster**, who declined submission.

As the inclemency of the season prevented the reduction of these monarchs, **Henry** summoned the clergy and the lords who had made their submission to meet at **Cashel**, in order to take into consideration the affairs of the church, the ostensible object of his invasion. By this convention **Henry** was solemnly acknowledged sovereign of Ireland: The clergy were declared independent of the civil magistrate in criminal cases, and their

lands exempted from secular taxes: But the most important decree passed by this assembly, a decree which, notwithstanding the violent shocks by which the country has been convulsed, has continued unremittingly to exert its force, was that whereby the Irish churches were reduced to a similarity with that of England, consequently to a dependance on the see of Rome.

After having been about six months in Ireland, during which period he had made several regulations for the government of his new dominions, and was preparing to subdue by his arms the whole island, he was unexpectedly summoned, before he had even secured those conquests he had already made, to appear before Albert and Theodine in Normandy, two cardinals whom the pope had appointed to investigate the causes of the murder of Becket, under pain of excommunication and an interdict on his dominions, acts of spiritual power, which, during the melancholy reign of bigotry and ignorance, were sufficient to convulse the greatest states, and to shake to their bases the thrones of the mightiest monarchs! Henry, alarmed at the danger with which he was threatened, made some hasty arrangements for the government of the country during his absence. He appointed Hugh de Lacy chief governor, and invested him with the lordship of the territory of Meath, and empowering the chancellor with several others to elect another chief governor in case of de Lacy's death, hastened his departure from Wexford and made the best of his way to Normandy, where the two cardinals were expecting his arrival.

Henry was obliged to leave his new dominions in a very unsettled state. That part of Ireland already possessed by the British, which, afterwards extended, consisted of the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Meath, and Uriel, together with the cities of Cork, Limerick, and Waterford, formed what was called the *English Pale*, had the advantage of the same laws with England. The inhabitants of the remainder, including those who had made their submission, continued to live under the same form of government as before. They professed allegiance to Henry: Their native independance and ferocity were in reality the same as ever. The English settlers quickly felt the evil consequences of this unorganized state of the country. The chieftains who had so lately sworn allegiance to the crown of Eng-

land rose every where in arms ; while Henry was so far from being able to give any assistance towards reducing them to submission, that he was obliged to draw off great part of the troops already stationed in Ireland, in order to suppress the unnatural rebellion of his own sons. Strongbow, as soon as he learned the danger of his sovereign, had hasted to Normandy to his assistance, which mark of loyalty and attachment to his person so highly gratified Henry, that he sent him back to Ireland as chief governor, and invested him with discretionary powers for the government of its turbulent affairs. On his return [1174] he found the troops so prejudiced against their leader, Hervey de Mountmorres, that he was obliged to deprive him of his command, and to substitute in his place Raymond le Gross, whom they importunately demanded for their general. This valiant soldier immediately began to act with vigour. With his little army he ravaged Ofally and Lismore, and gratified the rapacity of his followers with the acquisition of considerable plunder. Having shipped his booty on board several small vessels, he marched along the coast on his return towards Waterford. In this situation he was attacked both by sea and land, but obtained a complete victory on both elements.

Elated by his success in this and other expeditions, Raymond demanded Strongbow's daughter Basilia in marriage, which the earl coldly refused. Indignant at a denial which he thought his services had not merited, le Gross gave in his resignation and returned to Wales. Mountmorres was again invested with the chief command. A body of troops, however, on its march to join him at Cashel, was intercepted at Thurles by O'Brien of Thomond, and driven back with the loss of four hundred men. Alarmed by this misfortune, and the general revolt of of the Irish chieftains, who, not excepting even the hitherto faithful Donald Kevanagh, every where took arms, the earl was obliged to retreat with precipitation to Waterford, whence he sent solicitations to Raymond to return to Ireland, promising, should he comply, to bestow on him his daughter.

Flattered by this invitation, Raymond immediatly set sail. His arrival was fortunate ; as the inhabitants of Waterford had premeditated a general massacre of the English, which was only prevented by the appearance of his fleet in the harbour at

the moment of its intended execution. On the day succeeding that of his nuptials with Basilia, which were solemnized at Wexford, he, together with his father-in-law, marched into Meath against O'Connor, who had suddenly crossed the Shannon and ravaged the country, demolishing at the same time the fortresses of the English. By the defection of several chieftains, Roderic was forced to retreat, and was pursued by Raymond with considerable slaughter. Leinster being thus reduced to temporary quiet, the victorious commanders turned their arms against North Munster, where the British standard was again crowned with success.

Meantime O'Connor, justly incensed at the fickleness and perfidy of his compatriots, resolved to save at least his own province, by making a timely submission to the king of England. For this purpose he dispatched to Henry, whose affairs had by this time assumed a prosperous appearance, he having reduced to obedience his unnatural sons and vanquished the efforts of their ungenerous allies, three deputies, with offers to do homage for his kingdom of Connaught, and to pay a tribute as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Henry. The king received them at Windsor, and accepting the terms proposed, permitted the monarch of Connaught to retain in full all his possessions, and his nominal title of king of Ireland, with the exception of the territory possessed by the English.

The warfare of the other Irish chieftains continued. O'Brien of Thomond besieged Limerick [1176,] and on the march of Raymond to its relief with about five hundred men and a body of auxiliaries furnished by the lords of Ossory and Glandelagh, endeavoured to intercept him by posting his forces in a defile near Cashel. But Raymond at the head of his five hundred men, while his Irish confederates stood spectators of the engagement, prepared to side with whichever party should prove the stronger, forced his entrenchments and compelled him to give hostages for his submission. He then turned his arms against the son of Mac-Arthy, prince of Desmond, who had deprived his father of his principality, and thrown him into prison. He reinstated the injured prince on his throne, and received a tract of land as a recompence for his services. He had scarce accomplished this laudable achievement, when he received in-

formation that his father-in-law, the brave, generous, and magnanimous Strongbow, had died in Dublin in consequence of a mortification of his foot, whither he immediately hastened, leaving Limerick in custody of O'Brien, who, notwithstanding he took a solemn oath to guard it for the king of England, set it on fire as soon as Raymond departed.

The jealousy of Henry had been excited to such a degree by the envious misrepresentations of Mountmorres, that, previous to Raymond's expedition for the relief of Limerick, he had sent over four commissioners to summon him to appear before him. The extreme urgency of affairs, however, as the troops refused to march under any other leader, had induced them to suspend the execution of their commission; and they were now, after a thorough investigation, so well convinced of the injury which had been done to his character, that, with the concurrence of the council, they consented to his being appointed successor to Strongbow. The king, however, notwithstanding their favourable report, being still diffident, refused to confirm his appointment, and deputed William Fitzandelm chief governor, a sordid, insolent, and rapacious man, every way unfit for the high station to which he was exalted, and who was more intent on filling his own coffers, than on attending to the welfare of the colony. By Fitzandelm was convened at Waterford [1177] an assembly of the clergy, wherein the brief of pope Alexander, confirming the bull of Adrian which declared Henry lord of Ireland was promulgated, denouncing tremendous anathemas upon all who should refuse to acknowledge his sovereignty. After the transaction of this and some other business, the new chief governor proceeded, by dint of cunning, to deprive the original adventurers of their possessions, thereby gratifying the avaricious desires of himself and his herd of venal dependants. Several of the most adventurous, went in consequence in quest of new settlements, and the territories of the dynast of Ulster presented a wide field for their enterprising ambition. Others, after being stripped of all they possessed most valuable, were compelled either to mix with the native Irish, or to remain with the colony, in hopes of better days, when their sovereign should become sensible of the treatment which their services had deserved. In the mean time they

were burdened with all the labours of defending the colony, Fitzandelm and his myrmidons keeping aloof from danger, and spending his time in revelry and debauch, equally careless of the interest of his charge and the honour of his prince. The colony, under his evil administration, necessarily declined with the utmost rapidity ; until his conduct being at length represented to Henry in its genuine colours, he was removed and Hugh de Lacy appointed to succeed him.

During the wise and vigorous government of de Lacy the settlement again assumed a flourishing appearance. He laboured to repair its losses with unremitting assiduity, and might have succeeded in establishing the English power in Ireland upon a solid basis, had not the interested and malicious calumnies of his enemies caused the government to be transferred from his hands to Philip de Braosa, whose oppressive and tyrannical administration nearly brought total ruin and excision upon the colony.

The rule of his successor promised at its beginning a more happy issue. Prince John, the youngest of the sons of Henry, was sent over attended by a considerable force and a well furnished train of courtiers and expectants. Intimidated by his formidable preparations, and dazzled by the lustre of his appearance, the chieftains, even those who had been most remarkable for enmity to the English, came eagerly forward to be received into favour. But when they made their appearance and advanced with cordiality to kiss the prince's hands, they were, instead of being received with the respect they thought their due, rudely pushed back by the attendants and young lords, who gazed with astonishment upon their Irish garb, their uncouth manners, and bushy beards, and at length, in childish sport, began to push them about from side to side. This impolitic conduct was followed by very disastrous consequences. The chieftains left the presence with smothered rage, indignant at the gross affront which had been put upon them. Burning with resentment and the desire of revenge, they instigated others to espouse their cause, and in a short time the flames of war were kindled all round, and directed from every quarter against the colony.

During the short time Hugh de Lacy was in office, Milo de Cogan, one of the early adventurers, was treacherously murdered by Mac-Tire, an Irishman, whom he had esteemed his firmest friend, and the worthy Fitzstephen, the first English leader who had set foot in Ireland, stunned by the intelligence of this melancholy event, lost his reason and died of grief. Most of those who had contributed to establish the power of Henry in the island either were cut off by perfidy, or, neglected by their sovereign, had the mortification to see others enjoy the best fruits of all their toils and dangers. Their descendants in general proved unworthy of their virtues, and disgraced their names by acts of the blackest atrocity. The following instance may suffice to shew the abyss of depravity into which they sunk. Richard de Clare, son of the illustrious Strongbow, having unfortunately by his lofty demeanour incurred the jealousy of Henry III. was banished to Ireland; but returning thence with a numerous band of followers, he siezed and fortified his castle of Pembroke. This bold action alarmed the king so much, that, dreading his power, he made a show of receiving him into favour. Having afterwards, however, entered into a confederacy to expel the king's foreign favourites, he brought upon himself the implacable resentment of Philip des Roches, bishop of Winchester and prime minister. The malignant prelate immediately laid a plot for his destruction; and sending over letters under the great seal, signed by himself and eleven others, offered to Maurice Fitzgerald, the chief governor, son of the same Maurice who by his magnanimity had caused the rout of O'Connor before Dublin, to two sons of de Lacy, and to Geoffry de Maurisco and some other barons, all the Irish estates of Richard, provided they seized his person and sent him dead or alive to the king. They blushed not to enter into the conspiracy, and immediately began to take steps for putting it into execution. For this purpose Maurisco invited him over to Ireland on pretence of defending his property. On his arrival, feigning a zealous attachment to his person, he advised him to render himself master of the whole country, and to establish a power independant on Britain. The earl fell into the snare, and immediately began to act offensively. The other conspiring barons opposed him: but affecting to come into his views,

agreed to hold a conference on the plains of Kildare, where Richard and Maurisco met them. This was the favourable moment for putting an end to the scene. Waving the ostensible cause of their meeting, the conspirators demanded a truce, which Richard refusing to grant, they declared that that moment should determine the business with the sword. At the onset of the two parties, Maurisco deserted with eighty followers, leaving the earl with only fifteen, when the degenerate lords, rushing on the son of their fathers' companion in arms, threw him from his horse and inflicted a stab in his back of which he died in a few days.

CHAPTER III.

HAVING thus seen, even during the reign of one of its wisest monarchs, the short-sighted policy of England towards Ireland doing every thing which might prove detrimental to her interest there, by the removal of governors qualified to promote her influence and the interruption of plans which tended to establish her power, we shall pass in silence over a period of near four hundred years, from the reign of Henry II. to the Reformation, a period distinguished by no event worthy of particular notice, but remarkable for the uniform detestation in which the colony was held by the native Irish. During that long period, the eye of the historian can meet with no scenes except those of the most ruthless warfare, mutual perfidy, wretchedness, and desolation. Every advantage was alternately seized by the English and Irish to extend or contract the limits of the Pale. Their success was various : but implacable rage, famine, and every species of evil arising from mutual hatred and mutual barbarism, uniformly marked the progress of either party. Discord,* extended her influence over the whole island, not only established her empire betwixt the primitive inhabitants and the new settlers, but inflamed the members of each division against each other. The Irish chieftains waged incessant war against their compatriots : The great barons of the English colony were ever ready to fly to arms, as resentment, the prospect of plunder, or the desire of revenge, stimulated them to take the field against one another. But whatever excited them to as-

semble their followers, the community invariably suffered. The most insignificant occurrence was sufficient pretext for the chieftains to enter the Pale : The colonists never were at a loss for pretences to make an attack upon them. The submissions of the Irish were frequent, sometimes abject ; but always precarious, and never lasted longer than the English forces maintained a decided superiority. These evils were increased by the depredations of lawless bands of Scots who landed frequently on the coast, wasting and destroying the country wheresoever their arms enabled them to penetrate. During the reign of Robert Bruce, an army was sent over under the command of his brother, to attempt to wrest the island from the hands of the English. Bruce landed in Ulster, and having ravaged the whole of that province, proceeded southward as far as Dublin, marking his progress, like a devouring plague, by every calamity which fire and sword could inflict.

Such, in short, was the multitude of afflictions to which this ill-fated country was doomed, during the reigns of sixteen English princes, that its inhabitants were reduced not unfrequently to feed upon grass, leaves, and even, hideous nourishment ! the flesh of their fellow-creatures. On turning aside from scenes so shocking to humanity, gladly would we present prospects of a more pleasing nature. The sixteenth century, celebrated for the intellectual light which then burst forth in all its splendour upon Europe, we should have expected to display a striking contrast to the dismal period we have past : But, alas ! the miseries of unhappy Ireland were not yet arrived to a termination. To the hatred occasioned by the unseasonable aggressions of the English has been added fuel by the rancour of religious persecution : and if the Irish, when only temporal concerns were in question, were actuated by such inveterate enmity towards the English, to what a pitch must their hatred have been increased, when religion and bigotry gave fresh poignancy to their feelings !

At the accession of Henry VIII. to the throne, the colony had arrived to a degree of prosperity comparatively great to what it had formerly experienced. Under the administration of several successive governors, however, it relapsed with rapidity into its former state of anarchy and weakness. The earl

of Kildare was appointed lord deputy, and confirmed in his authority beyond the reach of opposition. He abused the power with which he was entrusted ; and putting himself at the head of a rapacious rabble, employed them to the annoyance of those whom he was appointed to protect. He formed intimate connections with the most powerful of the Irish chieftains : He kept the colonists at a distance from his person ; and appears to have considered the high authority with which he was entrusted merely as a fit instrument for the purpose of establishing his own personal influence. He continued much longer in office than any of his predecessors ; but, disdaining to bend his haughty spirit to suit the views of cardinal Wolsey, the king's minister and favourite, he was by the influence of that prelate and the intrigues of the Butlers, the noble family of Ormond, together with the complaints of the real friends to government in the colony, ordered to vest the administration in the hands of some person for whom he should be responsible, and to repair instantly to England. Kildare unfortunately entrusted this important charge to his son, lord Thomas Fitzgerald, a gallant and accomplished youth, affable, generous, well qualified to gain the affections of the people, but impressed with notions rather exalted of the consequence and grandeur of his family. Immediately after his father's landing in England, he was arrested and committed to the 'Tower ; and false reports were spread abroad that he had there been beheaded. The impetuous lord Thomas, struck with filial grief by this supposed outrage, and inflamed by rage and indignation, instantly threw up his commission of deputy, and boldly renouncing his allegiance, declared war against his sovereign in open rebellion. Several other chieftains espoused his cause, and their united forces put themselves in so formidable a situation that alarming apprehensions were entertained by the government party. The temerity and inexperience of lord Thomas, however, rendered fruitless all their efforts. Sir William Skeffington, who was appointed lord lieutenant and sent over with a considerable reinforcement, succeeded in completely quelling the insurrection. The confederates of lord Thomas made their submissions and were restored to their possessions : he himself was promised a full pardon if he would give himself up. His confidence proved

his destruction. Placing implicit reliance on the faith of Henry, he went over to England, but was treacherously seized and sent to the Tower. Lord Grey, successor to Skeffington, was ordered to seize the five uncles of lord Thomas, and cause them to be conveyed prisoners to London. He invited them for this purpose to a banquet, and after sumptuously entertaining them, perfidiously arrested their persons. Though three of these had decidedly opposed the rebellion, and all of them were entitled to pardon by the treaty concluded with the rebels, Henry ordered the whole to be executed as traitors with their nephew, and vowed destruction to the whole race of Kildare. Gerald, however, brother to lord Thomas, a boy only twelve years old, was by the vigilance of his guardians secretly conveyed out of the kingdom to cardinal Pole in Italy, the determined enemy of Henry; and under his protection he lived to regain the honours and estates of his illustrious family. Kildare himself died of grief for his son's rebellion and the fatal consequences by which it was followed.

Considering the suppression of this revolt as a new conquest of the island, Henry was about to have proceeded to lengths which might have produced the most fatal consequences, proposing it as a question whether he had not a right to seize the whole property, spiritual and temporal, of the country, notwithstanding many, both within and without the Pale, had contributed vigorously to the reduction of lord Thomas. This impolitic conduct, together with his unjust and cruel treatment of the Kildare family one of the most powerful and popular in Ireland, brought on him the detestation of the whole people, and was particularly incautious at a period when he was preparing to affect important changes in the system of religion, changes which require all the energies of a sovereign well beloved by his people to accomplish.

The vigorous administration of Grey, who laboured to forward the designs of Henry, for bringing about a partial reformation of the church, and having himself acknowledged its supreme head on earth, and whose zeal for his service carried him not unfrequently beyond the bounds of justice and honour, met with the reward which might be expected from a king who resembled in tyranny too many of those who have been distin-

guished by the same title. By the intrigues of the Butlers and the enmity of church zealots, he was imprisoned on a variety of frivolous and groundless charges. Conscious of the tyranny of Henry, whose unjust measures he himself had assisted to put in execution against others, his courage, for which he was eminent in the field, forsook him at a juncture that required him to summon it all forth to his support. Relying on his many and eminent services to secure the good dispositions of his sovereign, he declined a trial, pleaded guilty, and threw himself on the clemency of the king, who, with no less ingratitude than cruelty and injustice, ordered him to be beheaded.

The government, meantime, reaped the benefits of his exertions. The chieftains came so eagerly forward that Sir Anthony St. Leger, the lord deputy, was busied receiving their professions of submission. The earl of Desmond, who had hitherto held high privileges, voluntarily renounced them, threw off the supremacy of the pope, and gave up his son to receive an English education: Several septs petitioned to be admitted to a participation of the privileges of English subjects, and to be placed under the jurisdiction of English law: The O'Byrnes, in particular, requested that their territory should be formed into an English county. These favourable dispositions of the Irish were much increased by the assumption of the title of *king* by Henry instead of that of *lord* of Ireland which had been originally bestowed by the pope, the splendour and novelty of the appellations conveying to them notions of respect with which they had never formerly been impressed. But this noble opportunity of uniting the Irish into one powerful people under English administration was unfortunately lost by the thoughtless inattention of the king towards their country, who lavished the blood and wasted the treasure of the empire in vain-glorious wars on the Continent, and neglected, like most of his predecessors, the solid interests of his crown at home. Indeed it has been the fatal and misguided policy of Great Britain, for a considerable period before, and ever since, the accession of this monarch, to be eternally involved in the prosecution of delusive schemes of aggrandizement, forming, for the furtherance of her plans, continental alliances, and embroiling herself in continental wars, which must ultimately prove her destruction, rather than

to be engaged in cultivating the blessings of peace, and in attempting to ameliorate the wretched condition of by far the greater part of her people.

A powerful party of the servants of the Crown, all of them determined enemies of Kildare, at the head of which was **Allan** archbishop of Dublin, had been in the mean time formed. They obtained with much difficulty a resolution of the lords in council to send the master of the rolls to the king, for the purpose of laying before him the state of the country, and to crave his royal interference in its behalf. The master of the rolls represented to the king in their name the distressed state of the country; the nearly total disuse of the English laws, manners, and language, which were confined within the trifling compass of twenty miles; the exorbitant exactions by which most of the tenantry were compelled to relinquish their lands; and the heavy tribute which the few remaining were obliged to pay in order to procure the precarious protection of Irish chieftains; the enormous power of the English barons, who, by keeping a great number of Irish in their pay, could with impunity oppress his highness's liege subjects; and above all, the scantiness of the royal revenue, which left the realm without the means of defence; they entreated, for the amendment of these abuses, that he would be pleased to appoint in future such governors as had no interest in Ireland, who, unbiassed by Irish influence or Irish faction and party-spirit, might impartially administer to the glory and honour of his crown; and concluded with strenuous professions of loyalty and attachment to his government.

Henry, though the slave of caprice and passion, did not want for penetration, and was sensible that more might be done towards accomplishing his designs in Ireland by conciliating than by violent measures. He therefore gave a gracious answer to the petition from the colony. He encouraged the chieftains by every means to submit to his dominion. He gratified their fancied importance and their family pride, by conferring on them pompous titles and honours. He prevailed on numbers to resort to his court; and bestowed on others sumptuous houses and lands in the neighbourhood of Dublin, for their convenient attendance on the chief governor. Many of them, flattered by these marks of

distinction, surrendered their possessions and received fresh grants of them on military tenure.

The archbishop of Dublin, Allan, having died about this time, George Browne, an eminent preacher of the Reformation in London, was appointed to succeed him by the king, with a view to forward that important work in Ireland. Several commissioners were sent over with him, who were instructed to confer with the clergy and nobility, and to endeavour to procure from them an acknowledgment of the king's spiritual supremacy. Having begun to execute their instructions, Cromer, archbishop of Armagh, immediately protested against the measure as impious and rebellious against the holy see, from which the kings of England held their sovereignty. Leaving the commissioners, he summoned the suffragans and clergy of his province, and denouncing dreadful curses upon all who should give way to the views of the king, commanded them in the name of the pope to resist all innovation, as they valued their eternal salvation. He then dispatched two emissaries to the court of Rome, to represent to it the danger of the church, and to rouse it to the defence of its rights.

Meantime Browne, by labouring to forward the views of the king, brought his life several times into imminent danger, and at length advised that a parliament should be summoned to enforce by law what could not be accomplished by persuasion. Accordingly a provincial assembly of the Pale, dignified with the appellation of a parliament of Ireland, met on the first day of May, one thousand five hundred and thirty-six, which, by the intrigues of Henry, enacted that all who should refuse to acknowledge his supremacy were guilty of high treason; that the spiritual power of the pope was for ever annulled; and that payment should be made to the king of the first fruits of bishoprics, abbeys, priories, hospitals, and colleges. This parliament also renewed the laws against intermarriages with the colonists and native Irish, and enforced the observance of English customs and the use of the English language throughout the Pale. By these regulations the division between the colonists and the primitive inhabitants was widened and extended more than ever, and two factions were formed within the Pale itself, which involved the colony in endless dissension and

hostility. The whole nation, aboriginals and new settlers, with exception of a few who favoured the designs of Henry, were at this period zealously attached to the doctrines of the church of Rome. Vindictive as the Irish were to each other and to the English, they had hitherto implicitly believed and observed the same forms of religious worship. In their wars, though uniform in their detestation of the English, they as often had recourse to arms for the annoyance of each other as of them. But they were now closely connected by a new bond of union with which they were formerly unacquainted, and which they could allege to be the cause of all their future disaffection—the defence of the inviolability of their conscience. Several chieftains, on that pretence, rose in arms and acted openly as rebels, till they were obliged to submit by the vigorous conduct of the deputy. These oppressive measures, however, and the introduction of base money into the Pale, contributed to render the administration of Henry exceedingly unpopular, and to distract the short reign of his successor Edward VI.

Many chieftains, immediately on the accession of this virtuous young monarch, hoping to profit by his minority, showed themselves in arms, and resorted to their ancient practices of pillage and warfare. Sir Anthony Bellingham, the deputy, however, succeeded in reducing them to obedience. He also seized the earl of Desmond, who had begun to relapse into his former way of life; but, instead of punishing him, he prevailed on him by conciliating treatment to give sureties for his future good conduct, and to continue a true and faithful subject during the remainder of his life.

Meantime the Reformation was pushed with greater vigour than before. The protector, Somerset, having successfully proceeded with it in England, determined that the English liturgy, together with several other new ordinances, should be introduced into the Irish church. Accordingly, Sir Anthony St. Leger, who was appointed Lord deputy [1559] was entrusted with the management of this important business. Without convening a parliament, the royal Proclamation was published, enjoining the clergy to accept the new liturgy in the English tongue. An ecclesiastical assembly being called, it was submitted to their inspection; when John Dowdall, an Irishman by birth, who had

been promoted to the primacy of Armagh by Henry, unexpectedly opposed it with the utmost vehemence, and, followed by most of his suffragans, retired from the convention. Archbishop Browne and other prelates declared their acceptance; after which the assembly broke up. The Liturgy was read in the cathedral of Dublin, in presence of the lord lieutenant, the nobility, and the clergy, on Easter day, one thousand five hundred and fifty-one. The primatial dignity was transferred from the see of Armagh to that of Dublin; and Dowdall retiring to the Continent, his diocese was bestowed on a prelate named Goodacre. John Bale, a man of great learning, and so violent an opposer to popery, that his life was in continual danger from the populace, was promoted to the see of Ossory. But the Reformation was far from being effected by these means. The aversion of the people to it was supported by the refractory opposition of Dowdall, and much increased by the unwarrantable conduct of the commissioners appointed to remove relics and other objects of superstition, who, without authority plundered and exposed to public sale the most valuable furniture of the churches. These attempts, therefore, to force the Irish to depart from the religion of their ancestors, and to conform to an English ritual, not only caused many present disturbances, but contributed to raise the famous insurrection of the earl of Tyrone, who had lately made ample submission to the king and accepted an English title.

The sudden death of Edward, and the short reign of his sister and successor Mary, a stupid and sanguinary bigot, zealously attached to the cause of popery, and disgraced by a combination of the lowest passions and prejudices of the vulgar with almost every vice usually attendant upon exalted stations, gave a temporary respite to the troubled state of Ireland. Immediately on her accession, she repealed all the acts in favour of protestantism which had been executed by her father and brother: She returned the church to its former dependance on the see of Rome: She placed many of the deposed ecclesiastics in their former situations: She persecuted the reformers in England with unremitting assiduity, committing all who refused to renounce their opinions without mercy to the flames: the persecutions, however, did not extend to Ireland, whither many of

the heretics fled to escape her fury: She restored Gerald, the only surviving member of the noble family of Kildare, to the honours and estates of his progenitors. During her reign an insurrection of the people of Leix and Ofally was quelled with such effect as nearly to occasion their total extirpation. Their territories were for ever vested in the crown and converted into shires; Leix, under the name of Queen's-county, in compliment to the queen, and Ofally, under that of King's-county, from a like attention to her husband, Philip, king of Spain. She reduced the army in Ireland to about a thousand men; so confident was she of the tranquillity of the country, but was obliged afterwards to reinforce it, on account of the increasing commotions, and the lawless conduct of Scotch adventurers, who continued to land frequently on the island.

Although the restoration of the church to its former state of dependance on the see of Rome gave much satisfaction to the great mass of the Irish, yet they seem, upon the whole, to have been rather dissatisfied with the administration of Mary. The power vested in the lord lieutenant to dispose of the lands of Leix and Ofally at the royal pleasure, to the injury of the natives to whom they had hitherto belonged, and several acts she passed with evident intention totally to subvert their civil independence, appear particularly to have irritated them.

On Elizabeth's accession to the throne [1558,] she found the Irish better disposed to submit to her government than they had been to that of any of her predecessors. Having resolved, however, completely to effect the reformation in religion, she imprudently reversed the steps of Mary, and renewed the impolitic measures of Henry with still greater severity. She adopted, amongst other outrages against the people, the inhuman plan of repeopling the whole province of Munster, to the extermination of the original inhabitants. Great inducements were held out to all who would adventure in this scandalous undertaking. Estates were offered at a small rent, on condition that a certain number of families were planted on them, amongst whom there were to be no native Irish; and they were promised a force sufficient for the defence of their frontiers. To Sir Walter Raleigh and many other persons of power and distinction, considerable portions of territory were on these terms ini-

quitously granted. The people were enraged by this arbitrary measure, and though forced to affect submission, waited only for a favourable opportunity to shake off the yoke by which they were oppressed.

The chieftains, especially in the north, were soon in arms; and so formidable did they at length become, that the queen was forced to submit to treat with them. The cessation of arms that ensued was only a temporary respite. Hostilities quickly recommenced; and for the first time [1596] a regular system of rebellion against English government was organized in Ireland. The most formidable of the rebels was O'Nial, who, disdaining his title of earl of Tyrone, boldly assumed that of king of Ulster, and entered into a correspondence with Spain, from whence he was furnished with a supply of arms and ammunition. The queen sent over her favourite, the earl of Essex, as lord deputy, with an army of twenty thousand men. During the violent struggle which ensued, acts of the deepest atrocity were committed by both parties. The English arms were for several years unsuccessful; but mutual devastation soon rendered the country, however fertile, incapable of supporting its inhabitants. Many fell daily by the sword: more were destroyed by famine. The putrid exhalations from multitudes of carcases, left every where exposed to the air, brought on a pestilence, which, added to innumerable other calamities, threatened completely to annihilate the Irish race. The army of Tyrone diminished rapidly; while the English were supported by seasonable supplies of fresh provisions from sea. Reduced to the last extremity, O'Nial was obliged to make overtures of accommodation. After much treachery, evasion, and many pretended submissions, he was at length obliged to yield in good earnest. He fell upon his knees before the deputy, and petitioned for mercy with an air and aspect of distress. He subscribed his submission in the most ample manner and form. He implored the queen's most gracious commiseration; and humbly sued to be restored to his dignity and the state of a subject which he had justly forfeited. He utterly renounced the name of O'Nial, which he had assumed on account of the veneration in which it was held by the people. He abjured all foreign power, and all dependency except on the crown of

England. He resigned all claim to any lands, excepting such as should be conferred upon him by letters patent; promising at the same time to assist the state in abolishing all barbarous customs and in establishing law and introducing civilization among his people. The lord deputy, on the part of the queen, promised a full pardon to him and all his followers; to himself the restoration of his blood and honours, with a new patent for his lands, except some portions reserved for certain chieftains received into favour, and some for the use of English garrisons.

Thus ended this formidable rebellion; but it was a melancholy consideration that the reduction of Ireland to a state of sullen submission, through famine, pestilence, and bloodshed, cost England near four millions and a half of money: a sum which, in that age, was truly enormous, and to the support of which her resources were by no means adequate.

No insurgent now remained in the kingdom who had not obtained or sued for mercy. Many, indeed, had been forced to make their escape to the Continent, where they subsisted themselves by serving in the armies of Spain: and thus a race of Irish exiles was trained to arms, filled with a malignant resentment against the English. The ghastliness of famine and desolation was now somewhat enlivened by the restoration of tranquillity, though the price of provisions had increased to so exorbitant a pitch that it is astonishing the inhabitants were able to subsist; every article having advanced to at least four times the value it had bore but a few years before.

With the rebellion ended the reign of Elizabeth, a princess distinguished by the wisdom and vigour of her administration in England, but who appears to have miserably mistaken her true interest in Ireland. Enthusiastically beloved by the English, she drew on herself the detestation of her Irish subjects. Politic and artful, she hoped the blackness of her actions would never be exposed to the light of truth. Her debaucheries, however, escaped not the observation even of her own times. Since then, her character has justly been painted in all its genuine blackness and deformity. Perfidious and deceitful, she hesitated at no step, however vile, which tended to forward her views; and she advanced in iniquity with a cautious circumspection that proves her villany to have been as deliberate

as her principles were depraved. Her *treacherous and cruel treatment of the amiable and accomplished, though unfortunate Mary, queen of Scots, who fled to her for protection against the attempts of her rebellious subjects, unjustly detaining her many years in prison on the groundless charges of her enemies, the effects of her own intrigues, and whom she at length caused to be beheaded, though conscious of her innocence and of her own duplicity, will stand to her eternal dishonour, and to the disgrace of that legislature which suffered so flagrant a violation of the laws of justice and humanity to be inflicted on the person of a sovereign prince, a fugitive whom it was bound by every principle of honour to cherish and to protect!—To gratify the injustice, the passions, or the caprice of a monarch, to what degradations, to what abject compliances, has not an English legislature descended?

* See Whittaker's *Mary Queen of Scots Vindicated*.

CHAPTER IV.

TO Elizabeth succeeded, under the title of **James I.** James, the sixth king of Scotland, a descendant of **Henry VII.** by the female line, a prince eminent for profound erudition and a pacific temper, though unskilled in politics and rather pedantic. Under his government, however, Ireland began to assume a quite different appearance. At the time of his accession, the country was so reduced by famine and desolation that all thoughts of purchasing independence by a renewal of such calamities were abandoned. England, on the other hand, was unable longer to support the excessive loss of blood and treasure which was incurred by her struggles with the Irish. It was therefore unquestionably the interest of the crown to endeavour to extend its influence not by violent but by amicable means. It was no less the interest of the Irish to submit with patience to a yoke which they could not shake off. The new monarch consequently endeavoured to ingratiate himself with his **Hibernian** subjects. A report being spread, which was rather encouraged than discountenanced by James, of his being attached to the **Romish** church, tended further to pave the way for the peaceable reception of his administration. An act of *oblivion* and *indemnity* was passed, whereby all offences against the crown, all injuries and trespasses committed by subject upon subject, were for ever pardoned and extinguished, never afterwards to be revived. The whole of the Irish were admitted to a full participation of the rights of English subjects. The lords

surrendered their lands and received fresh grants of them according to English law. By this means the estates of each chief descended by hereditary right to his next heir according to the English mode of succession, instead of being conveyed to perhaps a distant branch of the sept, a cause of much dissension and hostility. The new grants were confined to the lands actually in possession of each lord; by which the landed interest of the whole island was new modelled, and the landed property became permanently ascertained and fixed, so as in future to prevent in part all disputes.

By the lands which from time to time had been escheated to the crown, particularly the forfeiture of the territories of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, who fled the kingdom in consequence of an information of high treason having been lodged against them, James found himself in possession of a vast tract, consisting of near five hundred thousand acres, in the six northern counties of Tyrconnel (now called *Donegal*), Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, and Armagh, a tract of country so covered with wood, that it afforded a secure retreat not only to rebels, but to great bands of Scotch and Irish banditti, who infested the open country; and which, but for the seasonable interposition of government, might have for ever continued a wild unprofitable waste, disfiguring the face of the country, and destroying the health of the people by the noxious vapours which incessantly exhaled from it, the pernicious effect of the moisture collected by the wood. To dispose of these lands in such a manner as might introduce to their inhabitants all the blessings of peace and cultivation, was an undertaking exactly suited to the genius and disposition of James; and, had not a planting *mania*, which made him extend his plans to the injury of his peaceable subjects by depriving them of their rightful possessions, taken possession of his breast, would have redounded to his immortal honour. He caused surveys to be accurately and expeditiously taken of the several counties where the new settlements were to be established; he described particularly the state of each; he pointed out the situations most proper for the erection of towns and castles; he delineated the character of the Irish chieftains, the manner in which they should be treated, the temper and circumstances of the old inhabitants, the rights of the new

purchasers, and the claims of both ; together with the impediments to former plantations, and the most proper manner of removing them. At his instance it was resolved, That the persons to whom lands were assigned should be divided into three classes ; new adventurers from Great Britain ; *servitors*, as they were called, that is, natives who for some time had served in Ireland in military or civil offices ; and natives without distinction. The first, persons born in Britain, and chiefly Scotch, were permitted to take tenants only from amongst their own countrymen ; the second, *servitors*, were allowed to choose their tenants, either British or Irish, with the exception of popish recusants ; to gain the third, if possible, by lenity and indulgence, they were under no restriction with regard to the religion or birth-place of their tenantry, and were tacitly exempted from the oath of allegiance, which the two former were obliged to take. In the plantations which had formerly been attempted, the English and Irish had been mixed together, in the fond hope that the former would have civilized and enlightened the latter, and changed their barbarous manners to habits of industry and peace. But experience had now shewn that the very reverse was the case ; the English quickly conforming to the wild customs and irregular manner of living of the Irish. It was therefore thought necessary to plant them in separate quarters ; and in the choice of these situations the errors of former times were carefully avoided. The original adventurers from England to Ireland, allured by the rich and fertile appearance of the flat and open districts, had imprudently settled and built their habitations and their castles in them ; driving the primitive possessors into the woods and mountains, their natural fortifications. There they kept themselves without being so much as known, subsisting on the milk of their kine ; and as the sexes lived in a state of promiscuous connexion, they multiplied to a degree almost above credibility. There they held their meetings and formed their conspiracies without being discovered. By the wisdom of James's plan, on the other hand, the Irish were placed in the most open and accessible parts of the country, that their motions might the more easily be watched by their neighbours, and that they might gradually be accustomed to the regular lives of husbandry and mechanics. To

the servitors were assigned places of the greatest danger, and of the most advantage to the crown; and to prevent the murmurings which might arise on account of this apparent hardship, they were furnished with guards and entertainment until the country should be quietly and completely planted. To the emigrants from Britain were given stations of the greatest strength and command, that they might be enabled to resist all attempts from the other divisions. As experience had proved the impolicy of making enormous grants to particular lords, endowed with extensive privileges, who by their exorbitant power could at any time interrupt the due administration of justice, and as, even in the late reign, portions of land had been granted to the queen's favourites so extensive that they were by no means able to plant them, the lands were now, according to the scheme of James, to be divided into three grand proportions, adapted to the three different classes of settlers, and these, again, were to be subdivided into a number of small shares, the largest to consist of two thousand, the next of fifteen hundred, and the least of one thousand English acres, on each of which the undertakers were to plant a certain number of families.

Such was this famous northern planting scheme, the beneficial effects of which were immediately perceived; and which would effectually have prevented all future disturbances in that part of the country, had it been executed according to its original plan. But the undertakers were capitally deficient in the fulfilment of their stipulations. The corporation of London, in particular, who had been persuaded to accept considerable portions in the county of Derry, and who engaged to expend twenty thousand pounds on the improvement of the plantation, and to build the city of Londonderry and the town of Colerain, have been accused of departing much from their engagement. It was difficult to find British tenants sufficient to possess the grand division into which they alone were to have been admitted. The Irish were at hand; and, though the scheme fixed the rents that were to be received for each portion, they by offering greater sums, were accepted, and introduced into those stations from which they were originally intended to have been excluded; the evil consequences of which were afterwards most severely felt.

Much religious discontent was displayed throughout the reign of James. The catholic party, while they had power to resist, could not bear to see the protestant religion established in preference to their own. On the annunciation of a design to summon a parliament, the only one which had met for twenty-seven years, and the first *national* one which had ever assembled, all the former having been merely *colonial* meetings or partial representations of particular parts of the kingdom, the catholic nobility, clergy, and gentry, excluded from holding offices of trust, military or civil, by their refusal to take the oaths of qualification, though magistrates and lawyers were in general tacitly permitted to exercise their functions, were grievously alarmed lest unfavourable designs should be attempted against them, and lest the preponderance of the royal influence should be so great as to insure the completion of such designs. To prevent the danger with which they were threatened, they and their agents made the greatest exertions in all parts of the kingdom to have a majority of catholics returned: But, notwithstanding their utmost efforts, the majority, on the meeting of parliament, was in favour of the protestants. Of two hundred and thirty-two members returned for the house of commons, six were absent, a hundred and twenty-five were protestants, while the recusants amounted only to a hundred and one. The lords consisted of sixteen barons, twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls, of whom a large majority were in favour of administration. The meeting of the commons was tumultuous and outrageous. The recusants loudly called for an examination into the legality of the election of several protestant members. When the house divided for the purpose of electing a speaker, they placed in the chair sir John Everard, notwithstanding a majority on the opposite side of the question; contending that, by the undue return of their members, the majority of the protestants was the effect of *illegality*. Sir John Everard was a respectable recusant, who had resigned his seat of a justice of the king's bench, rather than take the oaths of qualification. After a most outrageous and indecent contest, during which the protestants endeavoured by force to drag Everard from the chair, and at length placed in his lap sir John Davies, the attorney-general, the object of their choice,

the recusants seceded, and declared that they would take no part in the proceedings of an assembly which they pronounced unlawful. The lord lieutenant confirmed sir John Davies as speaker, and prorogued the parliament till the ferment of party spirit should subside. The recusant lords had also seceded.

The parliament was again convened [1614], when the violence of party was somewhat abated by the management of the deputy and the prudent conduct of the more thinking recusants. It confirmed all the politic measures of James for the abolition of odious distinctions between the colonists and the Irish; and the session was closed by voting to the king, his heirs, and successors, two shillings and eightpence in the pound from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards, from aliens seven shillings and fourpence in the pound; and four shillings in the pound from every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards. An act so liberal could not but be agreeable to James, who in a letter to the deputy expressed in high terms his grateful sense of their munificence.

A convention of the clergy was in the mean time held for the purpose of framing a confession of faith for the established protestant church of Ireland. Doctor James Usher, a man eminent for learning and abilities, but strongly tinctured with Calvinistic principles, was entrusted with the work of its composition. It consisted of a hundred and four articles. It received the ratification of the lord deputy; and though a few of the articles were disagreeable to the king, yet, from a sense of justice, his majesty promoted their compiler to the see of Meath.

During the remainder of James's reign, nothing worthy of particular notice occurred. The system of planting was carried forward with much spirit, though it was far from being conducted with that prudence by which he had hoped to render the blessings of it permanent. Though many vexations and tyrannical stretches of power were exercised by his commissioners, so as to incense numbers of Irish; though the recusants were grievously oppressed; though the soldiery and their officers exacted considerable sums from the people; though martial law was executed with rigour in time of peace; and though private property was most nefariously invaded in the

prosecution of the king's favourite plantation object, so as to reduce many of them to want and misery; yet the country had been so completely subjugated by Elizabeth, and the measures of James were in reality attended by so many sensible advantages, that no disturbances took place.

In the year one thousand six hundred and twenty-five, Charles I. succeeded to the throne of his father James, at which time lord Faulkland, an honest and upright man, but indolent and weak, was lord deputy of Ireland. Charles was by no means adequate to the arduous task of conducting the affairs of the British islands, at a period when the empire was in a state of the greatest fermentation from the religious fanaticism of two opposite contending sects and from a variety of other causes.

At this period no people were more distracted by the spirit of tolerance; no people were more bigotted to and obstinate in their opinions; and no people were more unfit to meet the destructive consequences of internal dissension, than the Irish. Aggravated by a series of grievous oppressions, the catholics watched with rancorous impatience for an opportunity to inflict their vengeance on the protestants, whom they regarded in a two-fold light of abhorrence, as the enemies and destroyers of their civil liberties, and as damned heretics, accursed in the sight of God, to whom they imagined they could perform no service more grateful than that of extirpating them, and with themselves their abominable opinions. These dispositions were much increased by a bull of pope Adrian VIII. exhorting them to suffer death rather than take the oath of supremacy, whereby he blasphemously asserted, the supreme power over the church was impiously wrested from the hands of the vicar of Christ, in open rebellion against God Almighty himself. The protestants, on the other hand, with a spirit hardly less impious, affecting excessive purity, declared that to tolerate popery would be to render themselves accessory to idolatry and the sinful loss of souls which were swallowed up in the gulf of catholic apostacy. The catholics, on the application of the lord deputy Faulkland, agreed to support five thousand infantry and five hundred horse for the king's service, at their own charge. They were consequently ordered to be treated with indulgence. The puritans, however, remonstrated. The deputy continued

to execute his instructions. The puritans made misrepresentations of his conduct to the cabinet, and he was removed.

The administration was now lodged in the hands of Ely the chancellor and the earl of Cork, who received the title of *lords justices*. These governors, without any authority, proceeded immediately to treat the recusants with the utmost severity, threatening all absentees from the protestant church with the heaviest penalties. The king expressed his disapprobation of their proceedings, which augmented the boldness of the popish party. A fraternity of Carmelites assembled a multitude of their followers to hear divine service according to the rites of the catholic church, in one of the most public places in Dublin. On the approach of the chief magistrate and the archbishop with a body of troops to disperse them, they tumultuously attacked and put the soldiery to flight. Charles, provoked by this public outrage, seized fifteen catholic religious houses and a catholic college; the former he retained for his own use; the latter he assigned to the university of Dublin, to be employed as a place of protestant education. The penal laws were executed with the utmost rigour throughout the kingdom; and, by the advice of the lords justices, the army was ordered by the king to be supported out of the fines imposed upon the catholics for non-attendance on the established worship: a measure of great grievance to the recusants, and attended with but trifling emolument to the crown.

In the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-three commenced the celebrated administration of lord Wentworth, a man of imperious disposition, violent temper, haughty, tyrannical, and absolute, but who tempered these vices in his constitution by the distinguished wisdom of his conduct. With a conviction that the people of Ireland were nothing more than the inhabitants of a conquered country, he determined to treat them as mere slaves, and to keep no object in view but the interest of his royal master. On his landing he summoned the council, but contemptuously neglected to require the presence of several of the members. This insult was aggravated by his conduct to the rest, whom he kept in waiting full two hours before he deigned to make his appearance; and when he did show himself, he entered in a careless indifferent manner,

without condescending to make an apology for the delay. He waved the business for which they had been assembled, and enjoined them with an authoritative air and tone to represent in their several districts the favour offered by the king to such as would compromise for the renewal of their defective titles to their estates, and to convince the protestants that the support of the royal army was absolutely necessary for their defence. On the next day, when the council was again summoned, they evinced an unwillingness to supply the king's necessities beyond the present year. Wentworth, enraged, proudly informed them that he had summoned them, not from necessity, but from a willingness that they should have an opportunity to display their loyalty and zeal; and that, at the peril of his head, he would undertake to provide for the king's troops amongst them without their assistance. Awed by his lofty demeanour and by the allusion he made to the odious practice of free quarters, they abjectly agreed to furnish another year's provision, to be levied on the protestants, the catholics having provided for the last.

The next step of Wentworth was to summon a parliament, in the lower house of which he hoped to be able to balance the catholic and protestant parties, and to tamper privately with each. The custom of consulting the lords of the Pale, previously to its being convened, was contemptuously neglected. When the council appeared disinclined to observe the mode prescribed by him with respect to the bills to be transmitted, he interrupted their consultations, and informed them that they were not to consider what might be agreeable to the people but what might please the king. On the meeting of parliament, no less than six entire subsidies, consisting of two hundred and forty thousand pounds, were voted by the commons, who relied on the royal promise to grant fresh patents for the estates in Connaught and in the county of Clare. The deputy, however, having secured the subsidies, so far from fulfilling this promise, proceeded immediately to take steps for seizing every estate in Connaught, with a view to establish a new plantation throughout the whole province. In the prosecution of this his favourite scheme, he advanced first to Roscommon, the inhabitants of Leitrim having already consented to the surrendry

of their lands. Having called a jury of the principal men of the county, he informed them, at the head of the commissioners of the plantation, that the scheme would be attended with great advantage to their country, that the king had no interest in it beyond the welfare of his people; that their consent was by no means necessary to establish the king's title, but that it was his majesty's wish they should share in the glory of executing a scheme so beneficial to the commonwealth and to themselves; and that, if they did not return a favourable verdict, the rightful claims of their sovereign would be enforced by a more summary mode of procedure. Conscious of the violent and determined character of the deputy, intimidated by his lofty spirit, and terrified into submission by his menaces, the jury found a title for the king. Their example was followed without hesitation by the inhabitants of Mayo and Sligo. But the jury of Galway, more spirited than those of the former counties, peremptorily refused to acknowledge a title in the crown. Wentworth, exasperated by their obstinacy, imposed on each of them the enormous fine of four thousand pounds, and seized on their persons and estates till the sums should be paid. On the sheriff, also, he adjudged a fine of one thousand pounds for having returned such a jury.

These and other harsh and imperious measures of lord Wentworth were attended with such universal detestation, that complaints against his administration at length reached the ears of the king. He was recalled; but, on representing his conduct personally to his majesty, was confirmed in his authority with still greater powers than before, and was created earl of Strafford and knight of the garter.

On his return he convened a parliament, which readily voted to the king six more subsidies; but which at the same time drew up a very strong remonstrance, setting forth in fourteen separate articles the grievances under which the nation laboured; and appointed a committee to convey it to London. He next, alarmed at the critical posture of the king's affairs both in England and Scotland, raised a body of nine thousand men for his assistance, eight thousand of whom were catholics, on whose loyalty and zeal he knew he could best depend.

Meantime the committee appointed to convey the remon-

strance of parliament, had been received with particular favour by the popular party, who expected considerable assistance from them in the execution of the favourite design then in agitation—the overthrow of the earl of Strafford. Their public instructions directed them to apply to the king only for redress; but they were privately ordered to address themselves to the English house of commons, a power then growing every day stronger than the throne. This step alarmed the earl of Strafford, who perceived in it the first symptom of his danger. By the advice of Charles, however, who assured him he still had power to save him, he fatally, contrary to the dictates of his own judgment and the urgent solicitations of his friends, repaired to London and gave himself up to the parliament, by which he was impeached, committed to custody, and afterwards ordered to suffer death as a traitor. Before the execution of Strafford, the king made a speech to the house of lords, in which he assured them he was well convinced the earl had been guilty of high misdemeanours, but that he could by no means think he had imagined high treason. Notwithstanding this acknowledgment of the earl's misconduct, however, so infatuated was Charles with his favourite's system, and so implicated was he himself in all the acts of his administration, that, by his advice, he appointed his kinsman sir Henry Wandesworth to succeed him in the lord lieutenancy. On the death of Wandesworth, which quickly followed his appointment, he deputed sir William Parsons and lord Dillon, another relative of Strafford, as lords justices of the kingdom: but finding Dillon was exceedingly disagreeable to the Irish, he afterwards cancelled the commission, and appointed sir John Borlase in his stead. Immediately on the commencement of the exercise of their functions, these ministers proceeded to re-establish throughout the kingdom the former moderation in the execution of government, mollifying the rigorous measures of Strafford, and adapting their conduct to the laws and established customs of the realm.

About this time Charles began to be seriously alarmed at the symptoms of disaffection which began to appear in Ireland. Conscious of the repeated instances of insincerity with which he had treated them, he attempted by a last effort to recover

the affections of his injured subjects. In a letter he directed the lords justices to publish to the people all the royal graces he had formerly promised them ; and to assure them that they should henceforth more particularly enjoy his favour and protection. Both houses of parliament returned thanks to his majesty for the publication of his graces, and prayed that the present parliament should not be dissolved nor prorogued until laws should be prepared for the redress of all grievances. As the chancellor Bolton had insinuated a doubt, on a charge against him, whether, since the enacting of a law, called the law of Poynings, the Irish house of lords had power of judicature in capital cases, both houses joined in a solemn protestation declaring that the court of parliament ever was and is the supreme judicatory of the realm. After the transaction of this and some other business, both houses of parliament adjourned, during which recess the grand rebellion of one thousand six hundred and forty-one broke out.

CHAPTER V.

THE hatred of the old Irish to the English for what they esteemed the usurpation of their country; the grievous and oppressive measures which still continued to be enforced by the commissioners and agents of plantation; the dispossessing of private property by chicane and the revival of obsolete claims of the crown; the insincerity and faithless conduct of the king, who evaded the fulfilment of his promises to the recusants; the insolent and impolitic behaviour of the new adventurers, who treated the whole of the natives of Ireland, both of Irish and English blood, as traiterous and disaffected slaves, and selfishly represented them as such to the government; the violent doctrines of ecclesiastics educated on the Continent, who laboured with unwearied assiduity to instil into the minds of the people the most deep-rooted hatred to heretical opinions and an heretical government; the secret and cautious proceedings of the puritans, who by a series of aggressions, provoked the recusants frequently to take arms, in order that they might become obnoxious to administration, which, by treating them with rigour, might be deprived of the advantages resulting from catholic loyalty, during that contest with the power of the crown which they themselves meditated; all contributed to foster the latent spark of disaffection which now exploded with such destructive effects. The government, lulled into a fatal security by the many *false* rumours of conspiracies, plots, treasons, and insurrections, which from time to time continued to be spread abroad, took no precautionary steps to meet the impending danger. Even the intelligence transmitted from the British cabinet that great numbers of Irish ecclesiastics had poured into the

kingdom from Spain, and that it was the opinion of the cabinet that a rebellion would soon take place, appears not to have roused the lords justices from the unaccountable lethargy into which they had sunk.

The conspirators, the principal of whom were Roger Moore, head of a reduced family in Queen's County, a penetrating and judicious man, and possessed of a most insinuating address; Connor Macguire, baron of Enniskillen; sir Phelim O'Neal (or O'Neal, as the word is now written,) grandson of the famous rebel earl of Tyrone; Turlagh O'Neal, brother to sir Phelim; sir James Dillon; Philip Reily; Hugh Mac-Mahon; Richard Plunket; and many others of inferior note; having prepared every thing for the execution of the plot, and raised a considerable body of troops under pretence of employing them in the service of Spain, appointed the twenty-third day of October, one thousand six hundred and forty-one, as the most proper time for rising universally in arms. Moore, Byrne, and Macguire were to surprise the castle of Dublin with two hundred men, while a considerable number were to follow for their support, and to take possession of the city. The fortresses in Ulster were to be seized by different chieftains, who, after having accomplished their several tasks, were to form a junction with sir Phelim, and under his direction to march with their united forces to Dublin. On the twenty-second of October, the day before the intended surrection, Moore and the other chieftains appointed to take the castle assembled in the capital, where they found only eighty of their men. They spent the day, however, flattering themselves that the remainder of their number would join them before the moment of action; and, falling on their knees, with much solemnity drank success to their enterprise. On this critical evening a full discovery of the plot was made to the lords justices, by a servant of sir John Clotworthy, named Owen O'Connolly, and the discovery was quickly followed by the arrest of Mac-Mahon and Macguire, who were afterwards hanged as traitors at Tyburn. Moore, Byrne, and the other leaders effected their escape. The castle, however, notwithstanding this discovery, might still have been taken, as it was defended by only about fifty men armed with halberds, had the conspirators persevered in their

determination. It contained fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, an immense quantity of bullets and matches, ten thousand stand of arms, and thirty-five pieces of cannon, fully equipped. The arrival of sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, a brave and experienced officer, tended to soothe the apprehensions of the citizens. By his advice the lords justices and council retired within the castle; with the defence of which he was entrusted, together with that of the city. A proclamation was issued on the twenty-third, announcing the discovery of a most treasonable and detestable conspiracy, imagined by the ill affected Irish papists throughout the kingdom; and exhorting all friends to government to provide for their own defence and that of the state. The catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, excepting to the general terms of this proclamation, immediately waited on the lords justices and council; and, expressing their abhorrence of, and innocence in, taking any part in the revolt, demanded arms for their own defence and the annoyance of the insurgents. These were refused coldly, on pretence of a scarcity. On the twenty-ninth, however, the lords justices and council issued an explanatory proclamation, intimating that by *Irish papists* they meant the old Irish of Ulster, and not the English catholics of the Pale, or throughout the rest of the realm. The jealousy of the justices, who were strongly attached to the puritanic party, prevented the catholics of the north from suppressing the insurgents; and they are with great appearance of justice suspected to have even checked every exertion for that purpose, in the base and dishonourable hope of profiting by the forfeitures of those who, emboldened by their apparent want of support, might join in the rebellion.

Meantime the rebels in Ulster had risen with alacrity at the appointed time; and with such spirit and activity did they push forward their operations, that in the course of eight days they had acquired full possession of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Caven, Donegal, and Derry, and part of the counties of Armagh and Down. They confined their attacks every where to the English settlements, and, as had been previously agreed on, left the Scottish planters for the present unmolested. The English were the objects of

their resentment: the measures of a puritanic government the subject of their complaint. England and English tyranny were every where thundered against with tremendous imprecations, and held up by every party as worthy of the utmost detestation. The spirit of the rebels was kept alive by assurances of support and assistance. Their leaders sometimes affirmed that the Scotch were about to join them in the glorious effort to extirpate the English; sometimes that they themselves had risen by order of the queen, who was a catholic; sometimes that they acted under authority of the English parliament: These pretences being laid aside as dangerous to their cause, sir Phelim O'Neal produced a parchment with the great seal appending to it, which he declared to be a commission from the king for taking arms. This he refused to submit to inspection; but seven days afterwards a forged commission was publicly produced, with the great seal fixed to it, which had been torn from the parchment above mentioned. It was notified with great solemnity to the rebel confederates, and contributed much to exhilarate their spirits, while the puritan protestants, who regarded Charles with an eye of deep distrust, dismayed at the sight of the great seal, declared that they were a "*sold people*." The commission declared in the name of the king, that "For the preservation of his royal person he had long been obliged to take up his residence in Scotland, occasioned by the disobedience of the English parliament, which had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and assumed the government and administration of the realm; that as these *storms blow aloft*, and are likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the *protestant* party, he hath given full power to his catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those of the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English *protestants* within the kingdom of Ireland." The lords justices, immediately on the first report of this commission, endeavoured to counteract its tendency by publishing a proclamation in which they warned the subjects to be on their guard against the effects of false and seditious rumours, derogatory to the honour of the crown. Roger Moore, also, who considered sir Phelim's device as

impolitic, published a manifesto, in which he tacitly acknowledged the non-existence of a royal commission, and merely called upon the catholics to arm in order to prevent their own destruction, to support the king against the adherents of the English parliament, and to defend the protestant establishment from the attempts of the seditious puritans.

As soon as the protestants, who had retreated to a place of security, recovered from the consternation into which they were at first thrown, the progress of the rebels was checked. In many skirmishes and assaults they were completely foiled, particularly in several actions in the counties of Donegal and Fermanagh, where the castle of lord Macguire was taken by storm. The confidence of the protestants, raised by these partial successes, was considerably augmented by the arrival of fifteen hundred men, provided with arms, ammunition, and a sum of money, whom the king had dispatched from Scotland to their assistance. The rebels, however, by no means discomfited by these defeats, boldly resolved on the attack of Carrickfergus, the chief post of the loyal party in Ulster. As a preliminary step towards the accomplishment of this splendid design, they determined to obtain possession of Lisburn, a Scottish settlement about sixteen miles to the south from the castle, for the plan of leaving the Scots unmolested had long been departed from. For the reduction of this post, sir Phelim detached four thousand well appointed insurgents, who on the twenty-eighth of November made a furious and obstinate assault. The Scots received them with cool intrepidity; and though the assailants penetrated several times into the town and reduced it to ashes, succeeded in completely routing them with the loss of fifteen hundred men, three times the number of the whole garrison. The rebels, provoked by this defeat, wreaked their impotent rage on their miserable prisoners. The insurrection had been so totally unexpected by the English protestants, that great numbers had fallen into the power of their enemies without resistance, and had been either thrown into confinement under the cruel apprehension of a horrible death; or, driven naked from their habitations, exposed to all the inclemencies of a winter particularly severe, were suffered to faint and expire on the roads, or to crawl to places of security, in all the ghastliness

of cold, fear, and famine. Those prisoners they had now in their power experienced the full effects of their implacable fury. Humanity shudders at the ruthless scenes which successively presented themselves. Lord Caulfield was basely and wantonly murdered. Fifty others, at the same time and in the same place, fell by catholic poniards.* Many, confined in different places, were brought out on pretence of being conducted to English settlements:† they were goaded forward by their guards like beasts, to whom their torments afforded subject of brutal mirth and savage exultation. Sometimes they enclosed them in some house or castle, which they set on fire, and, spectators of the shocking scene, heard their cries and saw them consumed with a barbarous indifference.‡ Sometimes they plunged them into the first river they met: from the bridge of Portadown in the county of Down no fewer than one hundred and ninety were at once precipitated into the stream.§ Sometimes “Irish ecclesiastics were seen encouraging the carnage. “The women forgot the tenderness of their sex, pursued the “English with execrations, and imbrued their hands in blood. “Even children, in their feeble malice, lifted the dagger against “the helpless prisoners. They who escaped the utmost fury of “the rebels languished in miseries horrible to be described. “Their imaginations were overpowered and disordered by the “recollection of tortures and butchery. In their distraction “every tale of horror was eagerly received, and every suggestion of frenzy and melancholy believed implicitly. “Miraculous escapes from death, miraculous judgments on murderers; lakes and rivers of blood, marks of slaughter indelible “by every human effort, visions of spirits chaunting hymns, “ghosts rising from rivers and shrieking out revenge; these “and such like fancies were propagated and received as “incontestable.”¶ The protestants, on the other hand, began to show a spirit no less diabolical. The British settlers in places of security forgot that their suffering brethren had been frequently rescued from the hands of the rebels by the interposition of the old natives. Their hatred and abhorrence to the

* Leland, from manuscript depositions of the county of Antrim.

† Id. Ibid.

‡ Id. Ibid.

§ Id. Ibid.

¶ Id. Ibid.

Irish race was so violent and indiscriminate, as to render them guilty of acts equally atrocious with those which had excited their abhorrence. The garrison of Carrickfergus, in particular, inflamed by an habitual antipathy to popery, beheld the Irish with implacable detestation. In one fatal night they issued forth from the castle into a neighbouring district, called Island Macgee, where a number of the poorer romanists, peaceable and inoffensive subjects, untainted with rebellion, resided, as in a place of safety under the protection of the garrison; and, assailing them in their beds, with deliberate cruelty massacred the whole without distinction; old men sinking under the burden of age and accumulated infirmities, women in labour, children at the breast, all fell victims alike to the cold-blooded barbarity of their merciless assailants!

Meantime the lords justices, on the full discovery of a plot of general insurrection, had sent O'Connolly, the informer, with intelligence to the earl of Leicester, who resided in England under the title of lord lieutenant. Sir Henry Spotswood was dispatched at the same time to Edinburgh with the same intelligence to the king. The unfortunate Charles, incapable of rendering any assistance towards suppressing the rebellion, devolved the management of the affairs of Ireland on the English parliament, whose determined plan was totally to subvert the royal authority. The parliament assumed this concession in its most extensive signification, and resolved to use the power with which they were entrusted as a fit instrument to forward their designs. Confident in their own power, on which they relied for being at any time able to crush the insurgents, they were careful not to hasten the termination of the war, which would deprive them of the means of extending their influence by patronage, the levying of money, and the providing of arms, which they intended ultimately to employ against the king, though for the present apparently against the rebels.

Closely connected with the popular party, and influenced by the hope of private emolument, the lords justices, especially Parsons, threw every obstacle in the way of putting an end to the rebellion, and the dreadful train of miseries and bloodshed by which it was attended. When proclamations were issued offering pardons to the rebels, they were clogged with so many

stipulations, limitations, and exceptions, as to render them of no effect; and when the English parliament at length ordered them to publish a general full pardon to all who should lay down their arms, within a certain time, they eluded the execution of the order. When the catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale, whose houses had been plundered and burned, whose lands had been destroyed, whose tenants had been murdered by the earl of Ormond under these parliamentary justices, when these very catholics, notwithstanding all these grievances and oppressions, again tendered their best services to government, in order to put a stop to the insurrection, now becoming general throughout the whole kingdom, their overtures were rejected with insult and contempt. The earl of Castlehaven was unjustly imprisoned, and sir John Read most iniquitously put to torture, for what was termed officious interference. The catholics of the Pale, thus left unarmed and exposed to the rebels, were consequently obliged to pay them heavy contributions for their good treatment. Incensed by these unjust, irritating, and impolitic measures, they were, in self-defence, together with the rest of the well affected catholic body throughout the kingdom, compelled to coalesce with the rebels; a coalition in this, as in almost every other instance, the pure result of the tyrannical and imprudent conduct of the protestants, and which most unwarrantably has been branded with the appellation of an unnatural rebellion, though the catholics, notwithstanding the many harsh oppressions under which they laboured, seem to have been indubitably the most loyal subjects the state contained. Their oath of confederacy was couched in the most loyal, moderate, and conciliating terms, and they declared themselves ready at all times to confer with commissioners from the government for the pacification of the country. They sent a deputation to the king, petitioning him to listen to their grievances, and expressing their loyalty and attachment to his person and government in the most explicit terms. Charles in consequence signed a commission on the fourteenth of January, sixteen hundred and forty-two, by which he directed the marquis of Ormond, the earls of Clanrickard and Roscommon, viscount Moore, sir Thomas Lucas, sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Bourk, esq. to confer with the principal confederates,

and to receive from them in writing what they had to propound. The marquis of Ormond, a man of great personal courage and considerable military talents, but ambitious, vindictive, haughty, and impatient of control, was impressed with so malignant a hatred to the catholics, that he not only disobeyed his sovereign in this and all other attempts conducive to their welfare, but, for the sake of gratifying his antipathy to them, meanly descended to execute the orders of his determined enemies. A committee, sent over by the English parliament contrary to the express commands of the king, were received by the lords justices with much respect, who recognized their authority. Without his majesty's consent they were admitted into the privy council, where their opinions gave the tone to the decisions of the board. Preferring to obey the orders of this committee to the pacific injunctions of Charles, Ormond marched towards Ross with an army of six thousand men. In this expedition nearly one thousand Irish were slain. Ormond was the only one of the commissioners appointed by the king who did not attend the meeting of the confederates at Trim, where they delivered to the others a very full remonstrance of all their grievances, which was transmitted to the throne.

The king, deeply affected by this remonstrance, informed the lords justices that he had authorised the marquis of Ormond to treat with the confederates for a cessation of hostilities for one year; and ordered them to give effectual assistance to forward the same. Sir William Parsons was superseded and indicted to stand trial for opposing the cessation and other high crimes and misdemeanours; and Sir Henry Tichburne, being known decidedly to favour the cessation, was appointed to succeed him as colleague to Sir John Borlase. Ormond again received an order from the lords justices, by the king's command, to confer with the confederates at Castle Martin in the county of Kildare, on the twenty-third of June, one thousand six hundred and forty-two. When the commissioners of the confederates met him he treated them with all the tyrannical insolence of a haughty superior. He indignantly called for the authority by which they appeared, and when they produced a copy of the authority which they had received from the supreme council of the confederate catholics at Kilkenny, he superciliously con-

tested their title, and questioned the facts referred to in the writings. He peremptorily rejected the condition insisted upon by the confederates of the dissolution of the present and the calling of a new parliament, notwithstanding the king's positive commands to gratify them in that particular. By this conduct and many other contrivances to which he had recourse, the cessation was delayed till the seventh of September, sixteen hundred and forty-three, when Charles's wishes and positive commands were at length acceded to. Ormond procured from them a voluntary contribution of thirty thousand pounds, and a reinforcement of several thousands of their best troops for the service of their sovereign in Scotland, who conducted themselves in such a manner as to reflect honour on the country from which they were sent, and to render essential services to the royal cause.

No sooner was the treaty of cessation signed, than the northern army, as well as the rest of the king's forces, all under the command of Ormond, rejected it, and immediately taking the covenant, offered to follow their leader Monroe, whenever he should march against the Irish. About the same time lord Inchiquin revolted; and administered an oath to each of his followers for the extirpation of popery and the extermination of the Irish.

Meantime the confederates continued to send over so many and such effectual supplies to the king, that on the twenty-fourth of October, sixteen hundred and forty-four, the parliament issued this bloody decree:—"That no quarter should be given to any Irishman or papist born in Ireland that should be taken in hostility against the parliament, either upon sea or in England and Wales." The hostilities daily committed upon the confederates by Monroe in Ulster, Sir Charles Coote in Connaught, and lord Inchiquin in Munster, caused them to petition the marquis of Ormond, now created lord lieutenant, either to put himself at their head, or at least to permit them to arm against those who, by violating the cessation of arms, acted as avowed enemies to the crown. The crafty Ormond, however, who beheld the catholics with the utmost antipathy, though fully sensible of their loyalty, not choosing to acknowledge them as the best friends to government, artfully evaded the

petition; and at the same time by the unbounded sway he possessed over the mind of his royal master, he contrived with consummate art to delay the peace in opposition to the king's pressing and positive commands, until such a measure was rendered unavailing by the cessation of the exercise of the royal authority, on the imprisonment of the king's person, in the year sixteen hundred and fifty-six.

Thwarted and disappointed as he was in his favourite object of ingratiating himself with the confederated catholics, and provoked by the conduct of Ormond in this and other particulars, the unfortunate monarch could yet never summon sufficient resolution to reprobate the proceedings of his favourite, and openly to avow a decided approbation of the catholics. Being fearful, however, that they might be alienated from his cause, he endeavoured to effect by secret influence what he had not courage to do by the public exercise of his authority. He granted to the earl of Glamorgan, a catholic nobleman, one of the heads of the confederacy, extraordinary powers for the express purpose of counteracting the measures of Ormond, and pledged himself to ratify whatever he should think proper to grant the catholics; they having "by their supplies testified their zeal to our service." After this acknowledgement of the loyalty and zeal of the confederates from the king himself, it is but fair to conclude that their subsequent endeavours to obtain succours from Spain, Italy, and Lorraine, were dictated by a wish to render still more effectual assistance to Charles, who himself drew considerable aid from the same quarters.

Charles, however, notwithstanding all his professions, still never seriously meant to support the confederates, who continued to be the dupes of his duplicity and the victims of the malevolence of Ormond. By his intrigues they were prevailed upon, contrary to the advice of the pope's nuncio, to make peace *publicly* with the marquis, and *privately* with the earl of Glamorgan, making separate treaties for the *religious* and *political* articles. On the sixth of March, sixteen hundred and forty-six, they deputed lord Muskerry and several other commissioners publicly to conclude a peace with Ormond, which accordingly was signed at Dublin on the twenty-eighth of the same month. The secret treaty with the earl of Glamorgan,

relating principally to the toleration of the catholic religion, and the sending over subsidies to the king, had been executed on the twenty-fifth of the preceding month of August.

Meantime the confederates earnestly endeavoured to prevail on the lord-lieutenant to declare the northern covenanters rebels, while he artfully employed himself to gain the confidence of these forces, and to bring them over to the king's service. Not only the old English troops, but even Monroe and his Scots seemed inclined to unite with the chief governor on moderate terms, which alarmed the English parliament so much that, to prevent their defection, they resolved to send them supplies of money, provisions, and clothing. Sir Charles Coote, a staunch parliamentarian, in the mean time demanded their assistance towards suppressing a rebellion against his government in Connaught, and to reduce the town of Sligo, the principal place of strength in possession of the insurgents. After some hesitation, four thousand foot and five hundred horse were detached from the Scotch and English forces for this service. Sligo was soon forced to surrender; and all the adjacent country became exposed to their depredations. The confederates of Kilkenny, provoked at these hostilities pending the negociation for peace, ordered sir James Dillon with eight hundred men to assist the archbishop of Tuam in the recovery of Sligo. The martial prelate led the assault in person, forced his way into the very centre of the town, and would have succeeded in expelling the garrison, had not he received the mortifying intelligence that a strong army of the northerns was approaching. His forces immediately retired; but were attacked and routed by sir James Coote in their retreat, with the loss of the archbishop himself, who was slain. Amongst his papers was found an authentic copy of the secret treaty of peace concluded with the earl of Glamorgan, which important acquisition was immediately transmitted to the English parliament, who ordered the paper to be printed and industriously dispersed, to the great joy and exultation of the king's enemies. Charles, to prevent the bad consequences which might arise from this, declared, upon the faith of a *king*!! and a *christian*, that he had never given to the earl of Glamorgan those privileges and powers which he was then known by many, and is now known by all,

to have repeatedly conferred upon him. With still greater effrontery the marquis of Ormond and lord Dillon, both of whom well knew the authority upon which Glamorgan had acted, caused him to be indicted of high treason for forging or surreptitiously obtaining those commissions, and immediately committed his person to close custody ; but the confederates having peremptorily declared that they would break off the treaty of peace if he was not instantly liberated, he was enlarged on the recognizance of himself and the earl of Kildare.

It is no wonder that many of the confederates, after so public an exposure of the royal faith, by which they found themselves so frequently deluded and betrayed, should in their future negotiations require some more stable security for the performance of the articles of a treaty than the word of a king so repeatedly violated. A great majority, however, still continued to place unlimited confidence in the king, placing his conduct to the account of the imperious necessity of his affairs. Much dissension, from this disunion of opinion, consequently arose amongst them. The peace by this means was retarded: and their power considerably weakened, to the secret satisfaction of Ormond, who most actively fomented their internal divisions. The nuncio of the pope, with a very great body of the confederates, objected to any treaty which had only *future* concessions for its basis ; while others were for implicitly relying on the the good intentions of Charles and the lord lieutenant. But however they might differ in this respect, they all, to the very last, continued warmly attached to the royal cause.

The treaty concluded with Ormond at Dublin was attended by a conditional obligation by which the king was absolved from all concessions unless the confederates transported for his service in England six thousand foot, well armed and provided, by the first of April, and four thousand more in a month after. In the mean time, the treaty was deposited in the hands of lord Clanrickard, as an instrument of no validity until the troops should be sent away. But the negotiation was so long protracted by various concurring circumstances, that the succours, which formed so grand a part of it to the unhappy Charles, arrived so late that they could be employed to scarcely any effectual purpose.

The proceedings of sir Charles Coote and his parliamentarians becoming insufferably violent and alarming, the confederates renewed their urgent solicitations to Ormond to lead them against these enemies to the crown; but he resisted their pressing entreaties, artfully observing that he was well convinced there was an absolute necessity of union, but that he would not act with those who had not received their authority from the king. He insisted with obstinacy, in the mean time, on the suppression of Glamorgan's treaty, which Charles had disavowed all knowledge of, and that the treaty of Dublin concluded with himself should be immediately published. If these overtures were not acceded to, he declared that the situation of the king's affairs in Dublin must compel him to seek some other method of recovering and supporting his authority in Ireland. The result of this was that the confederates agreed to the publication of the treaty with Ormond, which would immediately have taken place, had not Charles, who had surrendered to the Scottish army, in a letter ordered the marquis to desist from all further proceedings, and not to conclude a treaty with the Irish upon any terms whatsoever.

Although the marquis may have been persuaded that this order was extorted, yet it was not easy to persuade others; and anxiety, suspense, and confusion, every where prevailed: During which, lord Digby arriving from the Continent, declared that the king was held captive by the army, and that all his measures were the effect of compulsion, in order to suit the purposes of his worst enemies.

Ormond, however, not only prevented the loyal subjects of Charles from proceeding with vigour in his cause; but, basely deserting the reduced fortunes of his unfortunate monarch, treacherously entered into terms with the commissioners of the parliament, with whom he stipulated to surrender the castle of Dublin, the authority of lord lieutenant, and his sword, in consideration of receiving five thousand pounds immediately, two thousand pounds a-year for five years, and a release from all incumbrances upon his estate up to the beginning of the insurrection. After this shameful surrender he retired to England, whence he was compelled to escape to France.

The confederates after this having again met at Kilkenny, there

took into consideration that "his majesty was in restraint ;
" that all addresses to him were forbidden ; and that some
" members of parliament who had ventured to speak in his fa-
" vour were expelled : therefore, in that extremity, there being
" no access to his majesty to implore either his justice or his
" mercy, all laws, either human or divine, did allow the said
" catholics to take some other course in order to their defence
" and preservation—not against his sacred majesty, but against
" those who had laid violent hands on his person, who designed
" to abolish the royal authority, and resolved to extirpate or
" destroy the said catholics."

Ormond, meantime, after having been indignantly forced into exile by those very enemies of the king to whom he had, from mercenary motives, ignominiously betrayed his high trust and his own honour, again returned from France into Ireland, and arriving at Cork on the twenty-ninth of October, sixteen hundred and forty-eight, resolved to use the unshaken loyalty and severely tried attachment of the catholics to Charles as the instrument of his own revenge. He therefore dissembled for the moment his implacable hatred to the catholics, and affecting to place the fate of the king in their exertions, was received with universal acclamations. He was invited by the general assembly at Kilkenny to conclude a peace with them, and to join his efforts to those of the nation at large against the parliamentarians, who were soon to destroy monarchy, to abolish the hierarchy, and to extirpate the catholic religion. He still, however, rejected every condition of peace that related to the toleration of popery, or the repeal of any of the penal laws. During this delay lord Inchiquin's army revolted against the king, which defection the marquis seized as a pretext for completely delaying the definitive treaty.

By this unaccountable conduct of Ormond, notwithstanding the earnestness of the king to be reconciled to the confederates on any terms, the treaty was protracted till within one fortnight of the tragical end of Charles. Had he been actuated by any sense of the welfare of the state, any regard to the preservation of the constitution, any zeal for the support of his own religion, or any real attachment to his sovereign, he would not have declared " that the articles of the peace were not conde-

“scended to, till all hopes of the treaty then on foot in England between the king and the parliament were overpassed, and the army were not ashamed to proclaim their purpose, to commit a horrid and execrable murder and parricide on the sacred person of his majesty. This we mention, not as thereby in the least degree to invalidate any of the concessions made unto these people, but, on the contrary to render them in every point the more sacred and inviolable by how much the necessity on his majesty’s part for the granting thereof is the greater, and the submission on their part to his majesty’s authority, in such his great necessity, more opportune and seasonable : as also to call the world (and whomsoever either any peace at all, or the terms of this peace, may be distasteful unto) to testify hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot, without great injustice and somewhat of ingratitude, (if we may so speak in the case of his majesty with reference to this last act of theirs) be denied unto them, so any blame thereof ought to be laid upon those alone who have imposed the sad necessity, the saddest to which any king was ever reduced.”

What share he assumed to himself of the disasters of his royal master, by having so long deprived him of the assistance of his catholic subjects, cannot be known ; but certain it is, that this awful moment of embarrassment was the first in which he made any avowal favourable to that body of men. Besides the reluctant, the ungracious, and half-penitent admission, of their persevering attachment to the king in his utmost distress, he said in a letter to Lord Digby, written within a week of Charles’s death, “I must say for this people, that I have observed in them great readiness to comply with what I was able to give them, and a very great sense of the king’s sad condition.” And in another letter of the same date to the prince of Wales, he mentions “the very eminent loyalty of the assembly, which was not shaken by the success which God had permitted to the monstrous rebellion in England ; nor by the mischievous practices of the no less malicious rebels in Ireland.” Yet this *loyal assembly* had Ormond most cruelly persecuted, and to these *malicious rebels* did he surrender up the authority with which he was invested by his royal master.

The reign of the unfortunate Charles was terminated by the ignominy of his public execution, which melancholy catastrophe might have been prevented had he conducted himself with but tolerable sincerity and moderation towards his subjects both of England and Ireland. Had he possessed sufficient discernment to make a judicious choice of his ministers and favourites, or had he even decidedly opposed the measures of Ormond, and taken shelter amongst his faithful Irish catholic subjects, it is hard to say how far the power of the parliamentarians might have been checked: But the glaring weakness, irresolution, insincerity, and absurdity, apparent throughout the whole of his administration, recal to our recollection the words of a celebrated Latin writer—which, indeed, we could almost be tempted to apply to the present rulers of these islands—

*“ Quos vult perdere Deus dementat.”**

So great and general was the indignation of the people of Ireland at the king's murder, that the pope's nuncio immediately left the kingdom, despairing of being any longer able to prevent the union of the catholic confederates with the protestant loyalists under the lord lieutenant, who was at Youghall when he received intelligence of the king's death, where he instantly proclaimed the prince of Wales king, by the title of Charles II.

* Those whom God wills to destroy he first makes mad.

CHAPTER VI.

IN the first effervescence of the horror which all conceived of the murder of Charles, the English and Irish vied with each other in their exertions against the parliamentary rebels, whom they now denominated and treated as regicides. To this union were owing the first successful movements of Ormond's campaign in the reduction of most of the strong holds in the northern parts of the kingdom, except Londonderry. The pride of Ormond stimulated him above all things to regain possession of Dublin, which he had so basely surrendered. But the infamy of giving it up for lucre was aggravated by his disgraceful defeat at Rathmines, about three miles from Dublin, by a very inferior force under Michael Jones, the rebel governor of the city. This shameful disaster, coupled with the ready submission of Inchiquin's men, who instantly enlisted in Jones's army, and several other circumstances attending the conduct of Ormond on this occasion, naturally renewed in the Irish their former suspicions that he had still some secret understanding with the English rebels; and these suspicions were strengthened by the constant failure of all his subsequent endeavours against them.

The new king had expressly written from the Hague "that he had received and was extremely well satisfied with the articles of peace concluded with the Irish confederates, and would confirm wholly and entirely all that was contained in

“ them.” Notwithstanding this, after his majesty had been proclaimed in Scotland, and had been advised by Ormond to accept of the commissioners’ invitation to go over to that kingdom, well knowing that his taking the covenant was to be the previous condition to his being admitted to the throne of Scotland, he took shipping and landed there on the twenty-third of June, sixteen hundred and fifty. After having signed both the national and solemn covenant in the short space of two months, the king published a declaration “ that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant ; that he did detest and abhor popery, superstition, and idolatry, together with prelacy ; resolving not to tolerate, much less to allow, these, in any part of his dominions, and to endeavour the extirpation thereof to the utmost of his power.” And he expressly pronounced the peace lately made with the Irish, and confirmed by himself, to be null and void ; adding, “ that he was convinced in his conscience of the sinfulness and unlawfulness of it, and of his allowing them (the confederates) the liberty of the popish religion : for which he did in his heart desire to be deeply humbled before the Lord ; and for having sought unto such unlawful help for the resting of him to his throne.” This declaration necessarily produced the effect which Ormond himself declared in a letter to secretary Long, namely, “ to withdraw this people from their allegiance, by infusing into them a belief that, by his majesty’s having taken or approved of the covenant, they are deprived of the benefit of the peace, and left to the extirpation the covenant proposes, both of their religion and their persons.”

In the mean time the successes of the parliamentarians continued. When the former successful progress of Ormond first awakened the parliament to a sense of danger, Waller, their general, was displaced to make room for Lambert, who was in turn supplanted by Oliver Cromwell himself. That usurper, aware that the situation was one which would add to his consequence and power, contrived by his intrigues to be chosen lord lieutenant of Ireland, by an unanimous vote of parliament. His intrepidity and vigour quickly dissipated all the difficulties of his undertaking, and he landed in Dublin on the fifteenth of August, with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, twen-

ty thousand pounds in money, and all other necessities of war. Having entrusted the city to the care of sir Theophilus Jones, he took the field with ten thousand chosen men. Historians in general have represented the submission of the Irish to Cromwell as too hasty and unnecessary. The truth is, that the Irish suffered severely for the personal bravery and intrepidity which they displayed in support of the royal cause. When Cromwell with his well-appointed army appeared before Drogheda, his summons to surrender was rejected. "On the ninth of September he began to batter the place," says Dr. Warner; "and continuing to do so till the next day in the evening, the assault was made, and his men twice repulsed with great bravery; but in the third attack, which Cromwell led in person, colonel Wall being killed at the head of his regiment, his men were so dismayed that they submitted to the enemy offering them quarter, sooner than they had need to have done, and thereby betrayed themselves to the slaughter. The place was immediately taken by storm: and though his officers and soldiers had promised quarter to all that would lay down their arms, yet Cromwell ordered that no quarter should be given, and none was given accordingly. The slaughter continued all that day and the next, and the governor and four colonels were killed in cold blood." According to Leland, "this hideous execution was continued for five days, with every circumstance of horror. A number of ecclesiastics was found within the walls; and Cromwell, as if immediately commissioned to execute divine vengeance on these ministers of idolatry, ordered his soldiers to plunge their weapons into the helpless wretches. Some few of the garrison contrived to escape in disguise; thirty persons only remained unslaughtered by an enemy glutted and oppressed by carnage; and these were instantly transported as slaves to Barbadoes."

Cromwell, with his usual vigour, followed up the advantage which his butcheries had obtained for him in the consternation of the Irish, and marched with nine thousand men through the county of Wicklow, while his fleet attended the motions of his army. As he advanced, the forts and towns of inferior note surrendered; but at Wexford he found the garrison sufficiently strengthened to resist his progress. This place, however, fell

by treachery into his possession, being betrayed into his hands by colonel Strafford, whom Ormond had made governor of the castle ; and on this occasion Cromwell is described by Ormond, in a letter to the king, " to have exceeded himself, and any thing he had ever heard of, in breach of faith and bloody inhumanity ; and that the cruelties exercised there for five days would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or in the Relation of Amboyna."

Cromwell, after the reduction of Wexford, marched against Ross, which surrendered upon articles. The fort of Duncannon made a more honourable resistance ; and so considerably had the victorious army been reduced by the severity of the season, that a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men was sent from Dublin, and had been some time expected by Cromwell. Lord Inchiquin was informed of the march of these forces, and, with the consent of Ormond, resolved to intercept them. In this attempt he was foiled and defeated ; yet Wogan, the officer who commanded in Duncannon, continued to make a brave defence. By the assistance and encouragement of lord Castlehaven, he made a sally with such vigour and success, that the siege was raised, not without some confusion on the part of the besiegers. On retiring to their main body, they found their general transporting his troops to the county of Kilkenny, by a bridge of boats constructed on the Barrow. Ormond, who had concluded a negociation with Owen O'Neal, and had already received part of his forces, made some preparations for disputing the passage of the river ; but Cromwell, superior in vigilance and expedition as well as numbers, had already transported his army, and obliged the marquis gradually to retire to Kilkenny. Here he found the rest of the northern Irish forces ready to receive his commands. The presence of their favourite general, however, was wanting, for O'Neal now laboured under a malady that soon put a period to his existence. So powerful a reinforcement appeared to encourage Ormond to the design of meeting the enemy in the field.

Defection and dissensions, however, still continued to effect more for the parliamentarians than even the valour of their armies, the skill of their general, or even the terror which re-

sulted from their dreadful cruelties, could have achieved. Town after town, and fortress after fortress, fell into their possession, until at length all Ireland, with the exception of the province of Connaught, was in the power of the rebels, under the command of Ireton, whom Cromwell had appointed general in chief upon his return to England, where his views of ambition now called for the exertion of all his energies.

It was at this juncture of the king's affairs in Ireland that Ormond withdrew from that kingdom a second time. Whatever party spirit may allege in charge, commendation, or defence of Ormond, and no character was ever more partially represented, the truth is now ascertained as to the leading facts which constituted that character. After his disgrace at Rathmines, he never engaged in person Cromwell, Ireton, or Jones; but at this moment he abandoned the royalists in their utmost need, and sought his own personal safety a second time by flight; and not only did he continue to receive the price of his former surrender of Dublin to the rebels, but the marchioness of Ormond, during the whole time of her lord's proscription, three thousand pounds a-year, by favour of Cromwell.

So grossly inconsistent with the late peace was the king's subscription to the covenant, that Ormond affected publicly to discredit the report of his having taken it. The confederacy, however, not only believed that the king had, as the fact was, debased himself and betrayed them by covenanting with the murderers of his father, but that Ormond had approved of and advised the measure. Several of them, therefore, with a large part of their clergy, assembled at Jamestown in their present embarrassment, and, after much deliberation, determined that the clergy should endeavour by ecclesiastical censures to withdraw all persons of their own communion from the command of Ormond: they accordingly, assuming that his lordship would now publicly promote, as he had ever secretly favoured, the covenanters, published an excommunication against all such catholics as should enlist under, feed, help, or adhere to his excellency, or assist him in any manner whatsoever. But lest their loyalty to their constitutional sovereign should be suspected, they involved in the same sentence of excommunication all such catholics as should adhere to the common enemies of God.

their king, and country. When Ormond quitted Ireland he left the wreck of his powers to lord Clanrickard, who had often before remonstrated with him on those measures of his administration which tended to alienate the affections of the nation from the royal cause; and when he received the government from Ormond he was fully sensible of the impossibility of effecting any thing for the service of the king.

Although Charles, still being in the hands of the Scots, dared not openly avow the treaty then pending with the duke of Lorraine to re-establish the treaty with the royal authority in Ireland, yet he did all he could to forward it; and when he was out of the hands of the Scots, he wrote to his highness from Paris to solicit assistance from him and other catholic princes against his and their enemies. Even Ormond himself, finding his once favoured puritans going greater lengths than he perhaps wished or expected, notwithstanding his horror of popery, did not scruple to recommend the sending *fitting ministers and proposing apt inducements* to the pope, for his speedy and active interposition with the catholic princes to enable the king's catholic subjects of Ireland to make head against the rebels.

The marquis of Clanrickard continued for some time to carry on the appearance of hostilities, from a vain hope of making a diversion in favour of the king's English enterprises: but at length reduced to the utmost distress, his troops dispersed, and his resources exhausted, he accepted conditions from the republicans and retired from Ireland.

In the mean time the parliament of England concerted measures [1652] for the final settlement of the administration of the affairs of Ireland. Lambert was appointed successor to Ireton: but the intrigues of Cromwell caused the parliament to deny him any higher title than that of commander in chief; with which, as the usurper wished, Lambert was offended, and refused to accept the command. It was conferred on Fleetwood, who had lately married the relic of Ireton, and of course was particularly devoted to his father-in-law Cromwell.

Upon the arrival of Fleetwood in Ireland, he found there scarcely the remains of war, and the Irish of all orders were reduced to accept terms from the victorious republicans. The first act of the administration thus confirmed under the auspices

of a republican usurper, after a dreadful conflict of eleven years, was to collect all the native Irish who had survived the general desolation and remained in the country, and transplant them into the province of Connaught, which had been depopulated and laid waste in the progress of the rebellion. They were ordered to retire thither by a certain day, and forbidden to re-pass the Shannon on pain of death; and this sentence of deportation was rigidly enforced until the restoration. Their ancient possessions were seized and given up to the conquerors, as were the possessions of every man who had taken a part in what was termed the rebellion, or had followed the fortune of the king after the death of Charles I. This whole fund was distributed among the officers and soldiers of Cromwell's army, in satisfaction of the arrears of their pay, and amongst the adventurers who had advanced money to defray the expences of the war. And thus a new colony of settlers, composed of all the sects which then infested England, independents, socinians, anabaptists, seceders, brownists, millenarians, and dissenters of every description, many of them filled with the spirit of democracy, poured into Ireland, and were put in possession of the ancient inheritance of its inhabitants.* Such were the blessings of republican government dealt out by Oliver Cromwell—a form of government which, when not suffered to corrupt itself by the possession of too great military power, as in the instance now before us, is unquestionably the most pure and perfect to which any people labouring under one that is tyrannical or oppressive can commit the management of its affairs, and for the acquirement of which no privations they may endure, no struggle they may sustain, will be found too high a price.

Cromwell, soon after he was proclaimed protector, sent his son Henry into Ireland to sound the disposition of the army, to reconcile the minds of the people to the usurpation, and, by cultivating the friendship of those who possessed great influence, to prepare the way for the future peaceable administration of this kingdom.

* Speech of the earl of Clarendon on the sixteenth of February, eighteen hundred.

This period of the history of Ireland is peculiarly barren of incident. On the death of Oliver, Richard Cromwell confirmed his brother Henry in the government of Ireland.

Richard summoned the members chosen for Ireland to the English parliament: the republicans opposed the admission of thirty of them who were known to be advocates for the crown; but the court, though with difficulty, at length prevailed that they should sit and vote. The news of the dissolution of this parliament, and the intrigues of the royal party, was first brought to Ireland by sir Charles Coote. The lord lieutenant with vigour exerted himself to support the tottering authority of his brother. On the restoration of the *rump* parliament he laboured to prevent the disorders which might arise from this sudden revolution. He issued a proclamation to preserve the peace; and, on consulting with his officers, sent agents to the council of state with proposals relative to the civil and military government of Ireland. They were referred to the parliament, as it was called, who made some ordinances for the benefit of the adventurers and soldiers; and at the same time resolved that the government of Ireland should be again administered by commissioners, that Henry Cromwell should be recalled, and Ludlow appointed to command the forces of the commonwealth in that kingdom. The sentiments of Henry Cromwell were those of passive obedience to the parliament; but the new commissioners, doubting his sincerity, expected opposition on his part, and prepared measures accordingly. They however were received without any obstacle into the castle, while Henry retired to a house in the Phoenix Park, having administered the government with such disregard to his private interests, that he could not immediately command so much money as would defray the expence of a voyage to England.

From the moment of the abdication of Richard Cromwell, the royalists of Ireland conceived the most sanguine hope of the king's speedy restoration. This happy event soon followed. Charles was informed of the favourable appearances which were manifested, and but for the great expectation which at that time was cherished of the success of Monk in England, would certainly have repaired to Ireland, whither he was earnestly invited by lord Broghill, sir Charles Coote, and others, who now

espoused the cause of loyalty, and waited with impatience for the declaration of Breda. This was readily accepted; and king Charles II. was proclaimed with every manifestation of joy in all the great towns of Ireland.

The situation of Ireland at the restoration [1660] is more easily described than credited. A people who had continued in arms staunch to the royal cause nearly three years longer than any other part of the British empire, reduced to two thirds of their population by their contests with the regicides, by massacres, famine, and pestilence, stripped of any armed force for defence or attack, expatriated at home, and divested of the remnants of their ancient inheritances. Thus were these unfortunate wrecks of the native Irish, the devoted victims to their loyalty, penned up like hunted beasts in the devastated wilds of Connaught, hardly existing in the gregarian and promiscuous possession and cultivation of the soil, without the means of acquiring live or dead stock, and wanting even the necessary utensils of husbandry. Surely, if ever Ireland had a call of gratitude on the crown of England, it was at the restoration of Charles II.; yet the first legislators after the restoration was established, confirmed the rebellious regicides in the wages of their sanguinary rebellion. Broghill, who was created earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, created earl of Montrath, were nominated lords justices of Ireland; and sir Maurice Eustace, an old and particular friend of Ormond, appointed lord high chancellor. By the advice and management of these persons with Ormond was the whole settlement of the kingdom conducted. These persons were all known and determined enemies to the Irish catholics, and their measures were such as might from that circumstance naturally be expected. They contrived to call a new parliament, in which it was enacted no member should be qualified to sit in the house of commons but such as had taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy; while the speaker of the house of lords (the archbishop of Armagh) proposed that all the members thereof should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper from his grace's own hands. With the like view of preventing the Irish catholics from sending over agents to England to counteract the state commissioners who were soliciting the English parliament to except the Irish

catholics out of the act of oblivion and general pardon, the convention at Dublin put in execution all the severe laws and ordinances made by the usurpers, by which the catholics were prevented from going from one province to another to transact their business, such as had the more considerable estates were imprisoned, and all their letters to and from the capital were intercepted: the gentry were forbidden to meet, and were thereby deprived of the means of agreeing upon agents to take care of their interests, and of an opportunity to represent their grievances at the foot of the throne. The reports of popish plots and conspiracies were resorted to for the purpose of alarming the English parliament into the measure of excluding the Irish catholics from the general pardon, and quieting possessions in Ireland. Charles published a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels (a term then used as synonymous with Irish catholics,) and commanding that adventurers, soldiers, and others, who were possessed of any lands, should not be disturbed in their possessions until legally evicted, or his majesty by advice of parliament should take further order therein.

All historians agree, that the most extravagant, and unfounded reports against the Irish were brought to England, and there received with avidity, and circulated with every accumulation of inventive malice by incredible numbers of projectors, suitors, sufferers, claimants, solicitors, pretenders, and petitioners, who thronged the court, and looked to the Irish forfeitures as the sure fund for realising their various speculations. Such, however, was the effect of these manœuvres and other means, that when the state commissioners from Ireland petitioned the parliament of England to exclude the Irish catholics from the general indemnity, the duke of Ormond opposed it, alleging "that his majesty reserved the cognizance of that matter to "himself;" though it was notorious that the king had some days before in his speech informed the parliament, that he expected in relation to the Irish, that they would have a care of his honour, and of the promise he had made them. This promise, received from Breda through the marquis of Ormond, stated explicitly, that he would perform all grants and concessions, which he had either made them or promised them by

that peace ; and which, as he had new instances of their loyalty and affection to him, he should study rather to enlarge than diminish or infringe in the least degree. Nevertheless the Irish catholics were excluded from the general indemnity, to their ruin, the exultation and triumph of their enemies, and the astonishment of all impartial men.

Ormond was now reinstated in the government of Ireland, and by him were framed and settled the king's declaration, the acts of settlement and explanation: by him were made out the lists of persons excepted by name, amounting to about five hundred, after the ruinous effects of the act of settlement. By him was recommended the court of claims, and under his influence were appointed the first members of it, whose interested partiality and corruption became too rank even for their patron to countenance. He then substituted men of real respectability to fill their places, but so stinted them in their time for investigating the claims of the dispossessed proprietors, that they were compelled to apply for further time to go through several thousand unheard claims, which Ormond opposed, and rejected a clause in the bill for the relief of these unheard claimants.

When the sympathy and justice of his royal master balanced between the claims of the English protestants and the Irish catholics, Ormond's efforts to bias the king in favour of the former could not fail to be successful. Conscious as he was of that monarch's disposition and secret wishes to favour the catholics, he did all he could to raise divisions amongst them, by dividing the clergy upon a punctilious form of oath, by which it was then in contemplation to allow the catholics to express their allegiance to their sovereign. Not contented with the indignant rejection of the clergy's remonstrances, he ordered them to disperse, and soon after banished them out of the nation: and so rigorously was this effected, that when Ormond quitted the government there were only three catholic bishops remaining in the kingdom: two of them were bed ridden, and the third kept himself in concealment.

So far was Ormond from having suffered by these rebellious insurrections or civil wars in Ireland, that we learn from a letter written by his intimate and particular friend, the earl of Anglesey, and published during the life of the duke, " that his

“ grace and his family, by the forfeitures and punishment of
“ the Irish, were the greatest gainers of the kingdom; and
“ had added to their inheritance vast scopes of land, and a
“ revenue three times greater than what his paternal estate
“ was before the rebellion, and that most of his increase was
“ out of their estates who adhered to the peaces of sixteen
“ hundred and forty-six and sixteen hundred and forty-eight,
“ or served under his majesty’s ensign abroad.” During the
remainder of the reign of Charles II. many malicious attempts
were made to stigmatize the Irish with fresh rebellions, which
always served as a pretext of enforcing the execution of the
penal laws against the catholics. The duke of Ormond, of
whose conduct both to the king and his countrymen such op-
posite opinions have been formed, and whose government we
have traced to the present period, was now daily declining in
power and influence, through the intrigues of the duke of Buck-
ingham and the earl of Orrery: he was first succeeded in the
government of Ireland by lord Robarts, and afterwards by the
earl of Essex. He was again however taken into favour and
restored to the situation of lord lieutenant, which he retained
till the death of Charles II., though that king, a very short time
before that event, had intimated to the duke of Ormond his in-
tention of sending over the earl of Rochester to assume the
government in his stead: his grace’s removal was however so
far determined upon by the ruling interest of the empire at
that period, that it constituted one of the earliest acts of
James II.

CHAPTER VII.

THE short reign of the unfortunate James II. who succeeded his brother Charles in the dominion of the British empire, was pregnant with events of the deepest importance to the Irish nation. That the joy of the Irish catholics at the accession of a prince to the throne who was universally known to be a catholic, should be excessive, and even intemperate, is by no means surprising. The turn of the state of politics in this kingdom was rapid and complete.

The earl of Clarendon succeeded Ormond, but he was probably too firmly attached to the protestant interests to give as largely into James's measures as the court wished. His instructions clearly bespoke the king's intention of introducing catholics into corporations, and investing them with magistracies and judicial offices; and being called upon by his instructions to give his opinion on the legality of the measure, he expressed his readiness to comply with his majesty's commands, although contrary to the act of Elizabeth. The army was however soon filled with catholic officers, the bench with catholic judges, except three who retained their seats; the corporations with catholic members and the counties with catholic sheriffs and magistrates. The earl of Tyrconnel was appointed commander in chief of the army, and made independent of the lord lieutenant. On the very rumour of these proceedings alarm and consternation seized the protestant part of the kingdom: and most of

the traders and others whose fortunes were transferable fled from a country in which they expected a speedy establishment of popery, and general transmutation of property. The catholics now feeling themselves secure at least in their religion, induced Tyrconnel to go to England in order to prevail upon the king to accede to their favourite measure of breaking through the act of settlement. The king however saw more inconvenience in throwing the whole national property into a new state of disorder and confusion than these did, who had been suffering during twenty years from the deprivation of their birth-right. Tyrconnel was himself a great enemy to the act of settlement, and he so worked upon the king as to dispose him to consent to the repeal of that act, and he soon returned to Ireland as lord deputy. Tyrconnel was personally obnoxious to the protestants, he was impetuous, resolute, and imperious: he possessed an unbounded influence over the king; and having in his youth been a witness to that bloody carnage at Drogheda, he had ever retained an abhorrence of fanaticism, with the spirit of which he considered all protestants more or less infected. Nothing more was wanting to alienate the affections of the protestants from James and his government; and ere this unfortunate monarch, by the advice of imprudent and insidious counsellors, had been brought to abdicate the crown of England, the whole protestant interest of Ireland had already associated against him.

Long before king James left England, the protestants in the north of Ireland were generally in arms, training and disciplining themselves to oppose by force the measures of his government. This formidable armed force of the northern protestants had been gaining strength several months before the land of William prince of Orange in Torbay; and they continued daily in an improving state of organization and regular warfare against the existing government of the country: for it must be recollected that James II. continued to be king of Ireland, notwithstanding his abdication of the throne of England; since by the constitution of Ireland, neither the people of England nor the parliament of England could dissolve or transfer the allegiance of the people of Ireland; which long had been, then

was, and continued till the Union to be an independent kingdom. This singular epoch, therefore, of the Irish history furnishes the most simple demonstration of the necessity of an incorporate union, and exposes the monstrous anomaly of several independent kingdoms under one sovereign.

Ireland now again exhibited a gloomy scene of oppressor, dejection, insolence, and despair; of power exercised without decency, and injuries sustained without redress. That English interest, which princes and statesmen had laboured to establish in this country, was discouraged, depressed, and threatened with final extirpation.

The enterprise of the prince of Orange against England was yet a secret to James when Tyrconnel received intelligence of his design from Amsterdam, and conveyed it to the king, who received it with derision. The Irish catholics, conceiving themselves subjects of king James, at first affected to despise the prince of Orange and his attempts; but they soon learned the rapidity of his successes in England, that king James was deserted of his subjects, and that the revolution every day gained new adherents. The distracted state of this unhappy kingdom can scarcely be described. The protestants in the north in the year sixteen hundred and eighty-eight proclaimed William and Mary, which, by Tyrconnel and the catholics, was deemed an act of rebellion. An army was formed of about thirty thousand men, and officered chiefly with catholics. James, who was then at the court of Louis XIV., gave constant assurances that he would come to Ireland and head them in person. He accordingly sailed from Brest with a strong armament, having on board twelve hundred men of his own adherents, who were then in the pay of France, and one hundred French officers, and landed at Kinsale in March sixteen hundred and eighty-nine: from thence he proceeded to Dublin, where he was received as king with great pomp and solemnity. He issued five several proclamations, by the last of which he summoned a parliament to meet at Dublin on the seventh day of May; which did meet, and sat from that day to the twelfth of July, and then adjourned to the twelfth of November following.

After these acts the scene changed to open warfare. The

reduction of the protestants in the north who had declared for William was the first object of the attention of James, who determined to march to Derry, and appear in person before their walls. The defenders of Derry and Enniskillen supported the cause of the revolutionists against James's forces till the arrival of an English army of forty thousand men under count Schomberg, which was afterwards commanded by William in person.

Ireland at this time, exhausted by unhappy wars, could not supply James with the money necessary for his purposes, and among the acts of his short reign in that kingdom there was one which has fixed a peculiar odium upon his character. In defiance of law, reason, and humanity, he siezed the tools and engines of one Moore, who by virtue of a patent of the late king enjoyed the right of copper coinage in Ireland, and established a mint in Dublin and Limerick. Brass and copper of the basest kind, old cannon, broken bells, household utensils, were assiduously collected; and from every pound weight of such vile materials, valued at four-pence, pieces were coined and circulated to the amount of five pounds in nominal value. By the first proclamation they were made current in all payments to and from the king and the subjects of the realm, excepting the duties on importation of foreign goods, money lent in trust, or due by mortgages, bills, or bonds; and James promised, that when this money should be called in, he would receive it in all payments, or make full satisfaction in gold or silver. His soldiers were now paid in this coin, it was forced on the protestant traders, the nominal value was raised by subsequent proclamations, the original restrictions were removed, and this base money was ordered to be received in all kinds of payments. As brass and copper grew scarce, it was made of still viler materials, of tin and pewter. It was obtruded on the protestants with many circumstances of insolence and cruelty. Old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged with old pieces of vile metal, amounting to thirty shillings in intrinsic value. Attempts were made to purchase gold and silver at immoderate rates with the brass money: but this was strictly forbidden on pain of death; and when protestants attempted to exonerate themselves of these heaps of coin by purchasing the staple commodities of the kingdom, James by proclamation set

a rate on these commodities, demanding them at this rate, returning his brass on the proprietors, and with all the meanness of a trader exported them to France. It appeared indeed in the end, that James was the only gainer by this iniquitous project, and that in the final course of circulation his own party became possessed of the greatest part of this adulterated coin, just at the time when William had power to suppress it.

William arrived at Carrickfergus attended by prince George of Denmark, the young duke of Ormond, and others. His military genius prompted him, and the distracted state of England, together with the formidable preparations of France, obliged him, to a vigorous prosecution of the war; and when some cautious councils were suggested by his officers, he rejected them with indignation. "I came not to Ireland," said he, "to let the grass grow under my feet."

Six days had elapsed from the time of William's landing, when James received the first intelligence that a prince, who he confidently believed must be detained in England by faction and discontent, was already on his march to meet him. To particularise the events of this civil war, would far exceed our proposed limits: the battle of the Boyne, which was fought on the first of July sixteen hundred and ninety, turned the scale of the kingdom: there William, although he commanded a considerable superiority of forces, attended to the duties of a vigilant, steady, and intrepid general: he shared the danger of his army, encouraging it by his presence and example, even after he had been wounded, and had been pressed by his officers to retire; whilst James stood secure at a distance, a quiet spectator of the contest for his crown; so fearful of his enemy, or so diffident of himself or his troops, that his chief concern and preparation before the battle were to secure his personal retreat. He fled with precipitancy to Dublin, and from thence to Waterford, where a frigate was ready to convey him back to France; leaving the beaten relics of his army to make the best stand against the enemy, and procure from him the best terms their personal bravery would entitle them to. The Irish army under Tyrconnel and Sarsfield made a very vigorous resistance against a superior well disciplined army acting under the first general in Europe, until they surrendered the town of Lime-

rick, which was their last hold, on the third of October sixteen hundred and ninety-one, upon articles which sufficiently proved the estimation in which king William held their valour and steadiness, even after the many advantages which he had gained over them. Thus terminated the final effort of the old Irish inhabitants for the recovery of the ancient power, and the slender relics of Irish possessions now became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in sixteen hundred and ninety-eight, it appears that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight, and that their Irish possessions, as far as could be computed, were of the annual value of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds; comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament to defray the expences incurred by England in reducing the rebels in sixteen hundred and eighty-eight; and the sale introduced into Ireland a new set of adventurers. It is a very curious and important speculation to look to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in one century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven million forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. In the reign of James I. the whole of the province of Ulster was confiscated, containing - 2,836,837 acres.

Set out by the court of claims at the restoration - - - - - 7,800,000

Forfeiture of sixteen hundred and eighty-eight - - - - - 1,060,792

Total 11,697,629

Thus it appears that the whole island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. but recovered their possessions before Tyrone's rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English republic inflicted by Cromwell; and no inconsiderable

portion of the island has been confiscated twice, or even thrice, in the course of a century. The situation of Ireland, therefore, at the revolution, stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world.*

* Speech of earl Clare.

CHAPTER VIII.

DURING the succeeding reign of William and Mary and that of queen Anne, few affairs of any consequence with respect to Ireland seem to have been transacted. The catholics continued to be treated with still greater rigour, if possible than before. The Irish parliament struggled to have its jurisdiction acknowledged independent on that of Britain. They rejected all notions of dependance upon the British ministry; and though they allowed the king's right by conquest, they most positively denied that the British parliament had any authority whatever over them; and therefore looked upon the harsh restrictions which had been laid by it upon their trade as the most grievous and intolerable oppression.

In the year seventeen hundred and nineteen, according to Mr. Crawford, the oppressions and grievances of Ireland became altogether insupportable. A cause, for example, relative to an estate, betwixt Hester Sherlock and Maurice Annesly, was tried before the court of exchequer in Ireland. Here the latter obtained a decree in his favour; but, on an appeal, the sentence was reversed by the Irish lords. Annesly appealed from them to the English house of peers, who having again reversed the judgment, he was put in possession of the subject in dispute. Sherlock appealed again to the Irish lords, when the matter became very serious. It was proposed to the consideration of the judges, Whether by the laws of the land an appeal lies from a decree of the court of exchequer in Ireland to the king in

parliament in Britain. This question being determined in the negative, Sherlock was again put in possession of the estate. A petition was some time after presented to the house by Alexander Burrowes, sheriff of Kildare, setting forth "That his predecessor in office had put Sherlock in possession of the premises; that, upon his entering into office, an injunction, agreeable to the order of the British peers, was issued from the exchequer, requiring him to restore Maurice Annesly to the possessions of the above mentioned lands; and that, not daring to act in contradiction to the order of the house, he was fined. In consequence of this, being afraid lest he should be taken into custody, he durst not come in to pass his accounts; and for this he was fined twelve hundred pounds." His conduct was highly applauded by the Irish lords, who ordered the fines to be taken off; and in a short time after drew up a memorial to be presented to his majesty. In this they set forth that, having submitted to Henry II. as their liege lord, they had from him obtained the benefit of English law, with many other privileges, particularly that of having a distinct parliament. In consequence of this concession, the English had been encouraged to come over and settle in Ireland, where they were to enjoy the same privileges as in their own country. They further insisted that, though the imperial crown of Ireland was annexed to that of Britain, yet, being a distinct dominion, and no part of the kingdom of England, none could determine with regard to its affairs, but such as were authorized by its known laws and customs, or the express consent of the king. It was an invasion of his majesty's prerogative for any court of judicature to take upon them to declare that he could not by his authority in parliament, determine all controversies betwixt his subjects of this kingdom; or that, when they appealed to his majesty in parliament, they did not bring their cause before a competent judicature; and they represented, that the practice of appeals from the Irish parliament to the British peers, was an usurped jurisdiction assumed by the latter; the bad consequences of which they pointed out very fully.

This representation being laid before his majesty in parliament, it was resolved, that the barons of exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity, according to law; and an

address was presented to his majesty, praying him to confer on them some mark of his royal favour, as a recompense for the injuries they had sustained from the Irish legislature. This was followed by a bill for the better securing the dependency of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain. By this it was determined, "That the house of lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction to judge of, affirm, or reverse, any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said house of lords, upon any such judgment or decree, are utterly null and void to all intents and purposes whatever." It was also determined in this bill, that "The king's majesty, by and with the advice of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons of Great Britain assembled, had, hath, and of right out to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes, of sufficient force and validity to bind the people of Ireland."

This bill was looked upon by the Irish to be equivalent to a total annihilation of their liberties; and they were still further exasperated in the year seventeen hundred and twenty-four, by the patent granted to one Wood an Englishman, to coin halfpence and farthings for the use of Ireland. In this affair Wood is said to have acted very dishonourably, insomuch that a shilling of the halfpence he made were scarcely worth a penny. Great quantities of this base coin were sent over; and it was used not only in change, but accounts were likely to be paid with it, so that dangerous consequences were likely to ensue. The Irish parliament in an address to the king, represented that they were called upon by their country to lay before his majesty the ill consequences of Wood's patent, and that it was likely to be attended with a diminution of the revenue and the ruin of trade. The same was set forth in an application made to his majesty by the privy council. In short the whole nation seemed to unite their efforts in order to remedy an evil of such dangerous tendency, the effects of which already began to be felt.

Among the controversial pieces which appeared on this occasion, those of the celebrated dean Swift were particularly distinguished. His *Drapier's Letters* are to this day held in grate-

ful remembrance by his countrymen, but he was in danger of suffering deeply by the cause. He had been at particular pains to explain an argument used by the Irish on this occasion, that brass money, being illegal, could not be forced upon the nation by the king, without exceeding the limits of his prerogative. Hence the opposite party took occasion to charge the Irish with a design of casting off their dependance on Britain altogether; but Swift, having examined the accusation with freedom, pointed out the encroachments made by the British parliament on the liberties of Ireland; and asserted, that any dependance on England, except that of being subjects of the same king, was contrary to the law of reason, nature, and nations, as well as to the law of the land. This publication was so disagreeable to government, that a reward of three hundred pounds was offered for the discovery of the author; but as nobody could be found who would give him up, the printer was prosecuted in his stead; however, he was unanimously acquitted by a jury of his countrymen.

The Irish continued to be jealous of their liberties, while the British ministry seemed to watch every opportunity of encroaching upon them as far as possible. Apprehensions being entertained of a design upon Ireland by the partisans of the pretender, in seventeen hundred and fifteen, a vote of credit to government was passed by the house of commons to a considerable amount. This laid the foundation of the national debt of that kingdom, which was quickly augmented to several hundred thousand pounds; for discharge of which a fund had been provided by administration. An attempt was made during the administration of lord Carteret (who governed Ireland till seventeen hundred and thirty) to vest this fund in the hands of his majesty and of his heirs for ever, redeemable by parliament. This was opposed by the patriotic party, who insisted that it was inconsistent with the public safety, and unconstitutional to grant it longer than from session to session. In seventeen hundred and thirty one, another attempt was made to vest the same in the crown for twenty-one years; but when the affair came to be debated, the strength of both parties was found to be equally balanced. Immediately before the vote, however, co-

lonel Tottingham, who had rode post on the occasion, arrived in the house and determined the question against government.

The behaviour of lord Chesterfield, who was made governor of Ireland in seventeen hundred and forty-five, is highly extolled on account of his moderation, and the favour he showed to the liberties of the people. As the apprehensions of government were then very considerable, on account of the rebellion which raged in Scotland, his lordship was advised to augment the military force of Ireland to four thousand men. Instead of this, however, he sent four battalions to the duke of Cumberland, and encouraged the volunteer associations, which formed in different parts for the defence of their country. These battalions he replaced by additional companies to the regiments already on the establishment; by which means he saved a considerable expence to the nation, without augmenting the influence of the crown. The supplies asked by him were small, and raised in the most easy and most agreeable manner to the people, expending the money at the same time with the utmost economy. There was even a saving which he applied to the use of the public. It had been a custom with many of the lieutenant governors of Ireland, to bestow reversionary grants, in order to purchase the assistance of friends in support of their measures. Lord Chesterfield, however, being convinced that this practice was prejudicial to the interest of the nation, put a stop to it; but the most remarkable part of his administration was, the humanity with which he treated the Roman catholics. Before his arrival, the Romish chapels in Dublin had been shut up, their priests were commanded by proclamation to leave the kingdom; and such as disobeyed had been subjected to imprisonment and other penalties. Lord Chesterfield, however, convinced that the affection is to be engaged by gentle usage, permitted them to exercise their religion without disturbance. The accusations against them of forming plots against government were disregarded; and so much was his moderation and uprightness in this respect applauded by all parties, that during the whole time of his administration, the national tranquillity was not once interrupted by the smallest internal commotion. On his leaving the Island, his bust was placed at the public expence in the castle of Dublin.

Chesterfield having left Ireland in the spring of seventeen hundred and forty-six, the island continued to be governed by lord's-justices, until the thirteenth of September, when William earl of Harrington came over with the powers of lord lieutenant. A contest in the election of representatives for the city of Dublin this year called forth the abilities of Mr. Charles Lucas, so much celebrated for his patriotic virtues. Having some years before been admitted a member of the common council, he resolved to exert himself in behalf of the privileges of his fellow-citizens. The powers of this city corporation, as well as of others, had been changed by an act in the time of Charles II. and, among other innovations, for the purpose of augmenting the influence of the crown, they deprived the commons of the power of choosing the city magistrates. This was now vested in the board of aldermen; which being subject in the exercise of its jurisdiction to the approbation of the privy council, was consequently dependant on government. Mr. Lucas complained loudly of the injury; but as this law could not be altered, he set himself to inquire whether encroachments which could not be justified by law had not been made on the rights of the citizens. Having satisfied himself by searching into ancient records, that his apprehensions were well founded, he published his discoveries, explained the nature of the evidence resulting from them, and encouraged the people to take the proper steps for obtaining redress. The consequence of this was a contest between the commons and aldermen, which lasted two years. The former struggled in vain to recover their lost privileges; but the exertions of Lucas in every stage of the dispute had rendered him so respectable among his countrymen, that on the death of sir James Somerville he was encouraged to declare himself a candidate for a seat in parliament. This being highly agreeable to his wishes, he was elected accordingly; and distinguished himself not only by the boldness and energy of his speeches, but more especially by a number of addresses to his countrymen. In some of these he particularly considered the several branches of the constitution, and pointed out the encroachments of the British legislature. Government, alarmed at his boldness, determined to crush him by the hand of power; for which reason the most obnoxious paragraphs

were extracted from his works, and made the foundation of a charge before parliament. The commons voted him an enemy to his country; and addressed the lord lieutenant for an order to prosecute him by the attorney-general. The universal esteem in which he was held could not screen him from ministerial vengeance: he was driven from Ireland; but having spent some years in exile, he was once more enabled, through the exertions of his friends, to present himself as a candidate for the city of Dublin. Being again elected, he continued to distinguish himself by the same virtuous principles for which he had been from the beginning so remarkable, and died with the character which he had preserved through life, of the *incorruptible* Lucas.

In the year seventeen hundred and fifty-three a remarkable contest took place betwixt government and the Irish parliament relative to previous consent. As the taxes for defraying state expences are imposed by the representatives of the people, it thence naturally follows that they have a right to superintend the expenditure of them; and by an inspection of the journals of the house of commons it appeared that, from the year sixteen hundred and ninety-two they had exercised a right of calling for and examining the public accounts. When any surplus remained in the treasury, it was also customary to dispose of it by bill for the good of the public. In the year seventeen hundred and forty-nine, however, a considerable sum having remained in the treasury, the disposal of this money in future became an object to ministers. In seventeen hundred and fifty-one it was intimated to parliament by the lord lieutenant, the duke of Dorset, that his majesty would graciously consent and recommend it to them, that such part of the money as then remained in the treasury should be applied to the reduction of the national debt. As this implied a right inherent in his majesty to dispose of the money as he thought proper, the proposal was thought an encroachment on the privileges of the house of commons. No notice was therefore taken of the direction given by Dorset, but the bill was sent over to England as usual without any notice taken of his majesty's consent. In England, however, this very material alteration was made, and the word *consent* introduced into it. The commons at this time did not

take any notice of such an essential alteration ; but next year, on its being repeated, the bill was rejected. Government were now at the utmost pains to defend the measure which they had adopted, and pamphlets were published attempting to justify it on various grounds. The event at last, however, was, that his majesty by letter took the money which had been the subject of dispute out of the treasury.

In the year seventeen hundred and sixty, Ireland sustained an inconsiderable hostile invasion, the first with which the kingdom had been visited in seventy years. The armament consisted originally of five ships ; one of forty-eight guns ; two of thirty-six ; and two of twenty-four ; having on board twelve hundred and seventy land forces. They were commanded by the celebrated Thurot, whose reputation, as captain of a privateer, had advanced him to this dignity. The squadron, however, was driven by adverse winds to Gottenburgh ; where having continued a few days, they set sail for the place of their destination. On their arrival at the coast of Ireland, they were obliged to shelter themselves in Lough Foyle from a violent storm which again overtook them. The wind, however, having shifted, and continuing to blow tempestuously, they were obliged to keep out to sea. Two of the ships were thus separated from the rest by the violence of the storm, and returned to France ; but the remaining three directed their course to the island of Ilay, where they anchored ; and having repaired their damages, took in a supply of provisions and thence sailed to Carrickfergus.

In the mean time, an officer belonging to the small number of troops at that time in Carrickfergus took post on a rising ground, with an advanced party, to observe the motions of the enemy. A skirmish ensued betwixt this party and Thurot's men, until the former, having expended all their ammunition, were obliged to retire into the town. Having in vain attempted to prevent the enemy from taking possession of it, the British troops shut themselves up in the castle, where they were soon obliged to capitulate, after having killed about one hundred of their enemies, with the loss of only three on their own part. The French having plundered the town, set sail on the twenty-sixth of February ; and three days after were all taken

by captain Elliot, Thurot himself being killed in the engagement.

Soon after the accession of George III. Ireland first began to be disturbed by a banditti who styled themselves *White Boys*; and as these were generally of the Romish persuasion, the prejudices against that sect broke forth in the usual manner. A plot was alleged to have been formed against government; French and Spanish emissaries to have been sent over to Ireland, and actually to be employed to assist in carrying it into execution. The real cause of this commotion, however, was as follows: About the year seventeen hundred and thirty-nine the murrain broke out among the horned cattle in the duchy of Holstein, from whence it soon after spread through the other parts of Germany. From Germany it reached Holland, from whence it was carried over to England, where it raged with great violence for a number of years. The mitigation of the penal laws against the papists about this time encouraged the natives of the south of Ireland to turn their attention towards agriculture, and the poor began to enjoy the necessities of life in a comfortable manner. A foreign demand for beef and butter, however, having become uncommonly great, by reason of the cattle distemper just mentioned, ground appropriated to grazing became more valuable than that employed in tillage. The cotters were every where dispossessed of their little possessions, which the landlords let to monopolizers who could afford a higher rent. Whole baronies were now laid open to pasturage, while the former inhabitants were driven desperate by the want of subsistence. Numbers of them fled to the large cities or emigrated to foreign countries, while those who remained took small spots of land, about an acre each, at an exorbitant price, where they endeavoured if possible to procure the means of protracting a miserable existence for themselves and families. For some time these poor creatures were allowed by the more humane landlords the liberty of commonage; but afterwards this was taken away, in despite of justice and a positive agreement; at the same time, the payment of tythes, and the low price of labour, not exceeding the wages in the days of queen Elizabeth, aggravated the distresses of the unhappy sufferers beyond measure.

In such a situation, it is no wonder that illegal methods were pursued in expectation of redress. The people, covered with white shirts, assembled in parties at night, turned up the ground, destroyed cattle, and levelled the inclosures of the commons. These unavailing efforts were construed into a plot against the government; numbers of the rioters were apprehended in the counties of Limerick, Cork, and Tipperary, and some of them condemned and executed. In different places these unhappy wretches, instead of being looked upon as objects of compassion, were prosecuted with the utmost severity. Judge Aston, however, who was sent over to try them, executed his office with such humanity as did him the highest honour. A most extraordinary and affecting instance of this was, that on his return from Dublin, for above ten miles from Clonmel, both sides of the road were lined with men, women, and children; who, as he passed along, kneeled down and implored the blessing of heaven on him as their guardian and protector.

In the mean time, the violence of the White Boys continued, notwithstanding that many examples were made. The idea of rebellion was still kept up; and without the smallest foundation, many gentlemen of respectability were publicly charged with being concerned in it, and some of them obliged to give bail, in order to protect themselves from injury. The catholics of Waterford presented a petition to Lord Hertford, the governor in 1765, in behalf of themselves and brethren, protesting their loyalty and obedience to government; but no effectual step was taken either to remove, or even to investigate the cause of the disturbances.

About two years after the appearance of the White Boys, a similar commotion arose in Ulster; which, however, proceeded in part from a different cause, and was of a much shorter duration. By an act of parliament, the making and repairing of highways in Ireland was formerly a grievous oppression on the lower ranks of people. An housekeeper who had no horse was obliged to work at them six days in the year; and if he had a horse, the labour of both was required for the same space of time. Besides this oppression, the poor complained that they were frequently obliged to work at roads made for the convenience of individuals, and which were of no service to the public. Nor were these the only grievances of which the insur-

gents at this time complained: the tythes exacted by the clergy were said to be unreasonable, and the rent of land was more than they could bear. In 1763, therefore, being exasperated by a road proposed to be made through a part of the country of Armagh, the inhabitants most immediately affected by it, rose in a body, and declared that they would make no more highways of the kind. As a mark of distinction, they wore oak branches in their hats, from which circumstance they called themselves **Oak Boys**. The number of their partisans soon increased, and the insurrection became general through the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, Derry, and Fermanagh. In a few weeks, however, they were dispersed by parties of the military; and the public tranquillity was restored with the loss of only two or three lives. The road-act, which had been so justly found fault with, was repealed next session; and it was determined, that for the future the roads should be made and repaired by a tax to be equally assessed on the lands of the rich and the poor.

Besides these, another set of insurgents called **Steel Boys**, soon made their appearance, on the following account. The estate of an absentee nobleman happening to be out of lease, he proposed, instead of an additional rent, to take fines from his tenants. Many of those who at that time possessed his lands, were unable to comply with his terms; while others who could afford to do so, insisted upon a greater rent from their under-tenants than they were able to pay. The usual consequences of this kind of oppression instantly took place. Numbers being disposed and thrown destitute, were forced into acts of outrage similar to those already mentioned. A very respectable farmer, of the name of Douglas, having been charged with being a principal leader of the **Steel Boys**, was seized and confined in Belfast, in order to be committed to the county jail; but his friends and associates, highly irritated at the treatment he had received, and smarting under their own grievances, determined to rescue him by force. The design was eagerly entered into by great numbers all over the country; and several hundreds, having provided themselves with offensive weapons, proceeded to Belfast in order to release the prisoner. To prevent this, he was removed to the barracks, and placed under the guard of a large party of Highland soldiers quartered there. The **Steel Boys**, however, with a determined and undaunted

courage, worthy of the best cause, and in excellent order, pressed forward to accomplish their purpose by force, and several shots were actually exchanged between them and the military. The consequences would undoubtedly have been fatal, had it not been for a physician of highly respectable character, who interposed at the risk of his life, and prevailed upon those concerned to set the prisoner at liberty. The tumult, however, was not thus quelled. The number of insurgents daily increased, and violences committed by them were much greater than those of the other two parties. Some were taken and tried at Carrickfergus, but none condemned. It was supposed that the fear of popular resentment had influenced the judges; for which reason an act was passed, enjoining the trial of such prisoners for the future to be held in counties different from those where the crimes were committed. This breach of a fundamental law of the constitution gave such offence, that though several of the Steel Boys were afterwards taken up and carried to the castle of Dublin, no jury would find them guilty. This obnoxious law was therefore repealed; after which some of the insurgents, being tried in their respective counties, were condemned and executed. Thus the commotions were extinguished; but as no methods were taken to remove the cause, the continued distresses of the people drove many thousands of them to America in a few years.

In the mean time, a very material alteration had taken place in the constitution of the kingdom, with regard to the duration of parliaments. At an early period these had continued only for a year; but afterwards they were prolonged until the death of a sovereign, unless he chose to dissolve it sooner by an exertion of his prerogative. Thus, from the moment of their election, the commoners of Ireland were in a manner totally independent of the people, and under the influence of the crown; and government soon availed itself of this power to bribe a majority to serve its own purposes. Various methods were thought of to remedy this evil; but all proved ineffectual until the year 1768, when, during the administration of Lord Townshend, a bill was prepared and sent over to England, by which it was enacted, that the Irish parliaments thenceforth should be held every seven years. It was returned with the addition of

one year; and from that period down to the union with Great Britain, the parliament of Ireland continued to be octennial. During this session, [1769] an attempt was made by the British ministry to infringe upon the rights of the house of commons in a very material point. A money-bill, which had not originated in Ireland, was sent over from Britain, but was rejected in a spirited manner. Its rejection gave great offence to the lord lieutenant, who repeatedly prorogued them till the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-one.

The affairs of Ireland began now to draw towards that crisis which effected a remarkable revolution in favour of the liberties of the people. The passing of the octennial bill had diminished, but not taken away, the influence of the crown; and the situation of affairs between great Britain and America had inclined the ministry to make the most of this influence possible. In one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, Lord Harcourt, at that time governor of Ireland, exerted himself so powerfully in favour of administration, that the voice of opposition in parliament was almost entirely silenced. The difficulties, however, under which the whole nation laboured, began now to be so severely felt, that an address on the subject was presented by the commons to his excellency. In this they told him, that they hoped he would lay before his majesty the state of Ireland, restricted in its commerce from the short-sighted policy of former times, to the great injury of the kingdom, and the advantage of the rivals, if not of the enemies, of Great Britain. These hardships, they said, were not only impolitic, but unjust; and they told his excellency plainly, that they expected to be restored to some, if not to all their rights, which alone could justify them to their constituents for laying upon them so many burdens during the course of this session.

This representation to the lord lieutenant produced no effect; and Ireland for some years longer continued to groan under the burden of intolerable restrictions. These had principally taken place in the reign of Charles II. At this time it was enacted, that beef or live cattle should not be exported to England; neither were the commodities of Ireland to be exported to the American colonies, nor American goods to be imported to any port in Ireland without first unloading them in some

part of England or Wales. All trade with Asia was excluded by charters granted to particular companies ; and restrictions were imposed upon almost every valuable article of commerce sent to the different ports of Europe. Towards the end of king William's reign, an absolute prohibition was laid on the exportation of Irish wool. This restriction proved disadvantageous not only to Ireland, but to Great Britain herself. By smuggling, the French were plentifully supplied with Irish wool ; and not only enabled to furnish woollen stuffs sufficient for their own consumption, but even to vie with the British in the foreign markets. Other restrictions conspired to augment the national calamity ; but that which was most sensibly felt, took place in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-six. " There had hitherto (says Mr. Crawford) been exported annually to America large quantities of Irish linens : this very considerable source of national advantage was now shut up, under pretence of rendering it more difficult for the enemy to be supplied with the means of subsistence ; but in reality, to enable a few rapacious English contractors to fulfil their engagements, an embargo which continued, was laid upon the exportation of provisions from Ireland, by an unconstitutional stretch of prerogative. Remittances to England, on various accounts, particularly for the payment of our forces abroad, were more than usually considerable. These immediate causes being combined with those which were invariable and permanent, produced in this country very calamitous effects. Black cattle fell very considerably in their value ; notwithstanding there were no buyers. The price of wool was reduced in a still greater proportion. Rents fell every where ; nor in many places was it possible to collect them. An universal stagnation of business ensued. Credit was very materially injured. Farmers were pressed by extreme necessity, and many of them became insolvent. Numbers of manufacturers were reduced to beggary, and would have perished, had they not been supported by public charity. Those of every rank and condition were deeply affected by the calamity of the times. Had the state of the exchequer permitted, grants might have been made to promote industry, and to alleviate the national distress ; but it was exhausted to a very uncommon

“ degree. Almost every branch of the revenue had failed. From
“ want of money the militia law could not be carried into exe-
“ cution. We could not pay our forces abroad ; and to enable
“ us to pay those at home, there was a necessity of borrowing
“ fifty thousand pounds from England. The money which
“ parliament was forced to raise, it was obliged to borrow at an
“ exorbitant interest. England, in its present state, was affect-
“ ed with the wretched condition to which our affairs were re-
“ duced. Individuals there, who had estates in Ireland, were
“ sharers of the common calamity ; and the attention of indi-
“ viduals in the British parliament was turned to our situation,
“ who had even no personal interest in this country.”

CHAPTER IX.

WHILE things were in this deplorable situation, earl Nugent, in the year one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, undertook the cause of the Irish, by moving in parliament, that their affairs should be taken into consideration by a committee of the whole house. This motion being agreed to almost unanimously, it was followed by several others, viz. That the Irish might be permitted to export directly to the British plantations, or to the settlements on the coast of Africa, all goods being the produce and manufacture of the kingdom, excepting only wool, or woollen manufactures, &c. That all goods, being the produce of any of the British plantations, or of the settlements on the coast of Africa, tobacco excepted, be allowed to be imported directly from Ireland to all places, except Britain. That glass manufactured in Ireland be permitted to be exported to all places, Britain excepted.—With respect to the Irish sail cloth and cordage, it was moved, that they should have the same privilege as for the cotton yarn.

These motions having passed unanimously, bills for the relief of Ireland were framed upon them accordingly. The trading and manufacturing towns of England, however, took the alarm, and petitions against the Irish *indulgence* were brought forward from many different quarters, and members instructed to oppose it. In consequence of this, a warm contest took place on the second reading of the bills. Mr. Burke supported them with all the strength of his eloquence; and as the minister

seemed to favour them, they were committed; though the violent opposition to them still continued, which induced many of their friends at that time to desert their cause.

Though the efforts of those who favoured the cause of Ireland thus proved unsuccessful for the present, they renewed their endeavours before the Christmas vacation. They now urged, that independent of all claims from justice and humanity, the relief of Ireland was enforced by necessity. The trade with British America was now lost for ever; and it was indispensably requisite to unite the remaining parts of the empire in one common interest and affection. Ireland had hitherto been passive; but there was danger that, by driving her to extremities, she would cast off the yoke altogether; or even if this should not happen, the tyranny of Britain would be of little advantage; as on the event of a peace, the people would desert a country in which they had experienced such oppression, and emigrate to America, where they had a better prospect of liberty. On the other hand, they insisted, that very considerable advantages must ensue to Britain by the emancipation of Ireland; and every benefit extended to that country would be returned with accumulated interest. The business was at last summed up in a motion made by lord Newhaven, that liberty should be granted to the people of Ireland to import sugars from the West-Indies. This was carried; but the merchants of Glasgow and Manchester having petitioned against it, it was again lost through the interference of the minister, who now exerted his influence against the relief he had formerly declared in favour of. Various other efforts, however, were made to effect the intended purpose; but nothing more could be obtained than a kind of compromise, by which lord Gower pledged himself, as far as he could answer for the conduct of others, that during the recess, some plan should be fallen upon for accommodating the affairs of Ireland to the satisfaction of all parties.

In the mean time the affairs of this country hastened to a crisis which forced the British ministry to give that relief so long solicited, and which they so often promised without any intention of performing their promises. As long as the affairs of the country were under consideration of the British parliament,

the inhabitants preserved some degree of patience ; but when they found themselves deserted by the minister, their discontent was inflamed beyond measure. The laws he had passed in their favour, viz. an allowance to plant tobacco, and a bill to encourage the growth of hemp, were considered as a mockery instead of relief ; and it was now resolved to take such measures as should effectually convince the ministry that it was not their interest to tyrannize any longer. With this view, associations against the importation of British commodities, which had been entered into in some places before, now became universal throughout the kingdom ; and such as presumed to oppose the voice of the people in this respect, had the mortification to find themselves exposed to public obloquy and contempt on that account. Thus the Irish manufacturers began to revive ; and the people of Britain found themselves obliged seriously to take into consideration the relief of that country, and to look upon it as a matter very necessary to their interest. To this also they were still more seriously disposed by the military associations, which had taken place some time before, and now assumed a most formidable appearance. At first, these were formed by accidental causes. The situation of Britain, for some time, had not admitted of any effectual method being taken for the defence of Ireland. Its coasts had been insulted, and the trading ships taken by the French and American privateers ; nor was it at all improbable that an invasion might soon follow. " The minister (says Mr. Crawford) told us that the situation of Britain was such as to render her incapable of protecting us. The weakness of government, from the following circumstance, was strikingly obvious. The mayor of Belfast having transmitted a memorial to the lord lieutenant, setting forth the unprotected state of the coast, and requesting a body of the military for its defence, received for answer, that he could not afford him any other assistance than half a troop of dismounted horse and half a company of invalids." In this dilemma, a number of the inhabitants of the town associated for the purpose of self-defence ; and on the same principle, a few volunteer companies were formed in different parts of the kingdom. These chose their own officers, purchased their own arms and uniforms, and, with the assistance of persons properly

qualified, assembled regularly on the parade to acquire a knowledge in the military art. Their respectable appearance, and the zeal they showed in the service of their country, soon excited curiosity and attracted respect. Their number increased every day; and people of the first consequence became ambitious of being enrolled among them. As no foreign enemy appeared, against whom they might exercise their military prowess, these patriotic bands soon began to turn their thoughts towards a deliverance from domestic oppression. No sooner was this idea made known, than it gave new vigour to the spirit of volunteering; insomuch that, by the end of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-eight, the military associations were thought to amount at least to thirty thousand men. But while thus formidable from their numbers, and openly avowing their intention to demand a restitution of their rights from the British ministry, they professed the utmost loyalty and affection to the king; and with regard to sobriety and decent demeanour, they were not only unexceptionable, but exemplary. Instead of exciting disorder themselves, they restrained every kind of irregularity, and exerted themselves with unanimity and vigour for the execution of the laws.

That such a body of armed men, acting without any command or support from government, should be an object of apprehension to the ministry, is not to be wondered at. In the infancy of their associations indeed, they might have been suppressed; but matters had been suffered to proceed too far; and, as they stood at present, all resistance was vain. As the volunteers could not be controled, some attempts were made to bring them under the influence of the crown; but this being found impossible, ministry thought fit to treat them with an appearance of confidence; and accordingly, orders were issued for supplying them with sixteen thousand stand of arms.

The Irish parliament, thus encouraged by the spirit of the nation, and pressed by the difficulties arising from the diminished value of their estates, resolved to exert themselves in a becoming manner, in order to procure relief to their country. At their meeting in October, one thousand seven hundred and seventy-nine, an address to his majesty was drawn up; in which it was expressly declared, that "it was not by temporary expedi-

“ents, but by a free trade alone, that Ireland was now to be saved “from impending ruin.” When this address was carried up to the lord lieutenant, the streets of Dublin were lined with volunteers, commanded by the duke of Leinster, in their arms and uniform. But, though a general expectation of relief was now diffused, an anxious fear of disappointment still continued. If the usual supply was granted for two years, there was danger of the distresses continuing for all that time; and after it was granted, the prorogation of parliament might put a stop to the expected relief altogether. The people, however, were not now to be trifled with. As the court-party showed an aversion to comply with the popular measures, a mob rose in Dublin, who, among other acts of violence, pulled down the house of the attorney-general, and did their utmost to compel the members to promise their countenance to the matter in hand. When the point therefore came to be debated, some espoused the popular side from principle, others from necessity; so that on the whole a majority appeared in favour of it. A short money bill was passed and transmitted to England; where, though very mortifying to the minister, it passed also.

On the meeting of the British parliament in December, the Irish affairs were first taken into consideration in the house of peers. The necessity of granting relief to that kingdom was strongly set forth by the lord who introduced them. He said, the Irish, now conscious of possessing a force and consequence to which they had hitherto been strangers, had resolved to apply it to obtain the advantages of which the nation, by this spirited exertion, now shewed themselves worthy. Had they for some time before been gratified in lesser matters, they would now have received with gratitude, what they would, as affairs stood at present, consider only as a matter of right. He then moved for a vote of censure against his majesty's ministers for their neglect of Ireland. This motion was rejected; but earl Gower, who had now deserted the cause of ministry, declared, that there did not exist in his mind a single doubt that the vote of censure was not well founded. He added, in his own vindication, that early in the summer he had promised that relief should be granted to Ireland, and had done every thing in his power to keep his word; but that all his efforts had proved fruitless.

In the house of commons the minister found himself so hard pressed by the arguments of the minority, and the short money-bill from Ireland, that he was obliged to declare, that in less than a week he intended to move for a committee of the whole house to take the affairs of Ireland into consideration. On the thirteenth of December he accordingly brought forward his propositions in favour of this kingdom. The design of these was to repeal the laws prohibiting the exportation of Irish manufactures made of wool or wool flocks ; to repeal as much of the act of 19th George II. as prohibited the importation of glass into Ireland, except of British manufacture, or the exportation of glass from Ireland ; and to permit the Irish to export and import commodities to and from the West Indies and the British settlements on the coast of Africa, subject to such resolutions and restrictions as should be imposed by the Irish parliament.

On these propositions his lordship made several remarks by way of explanation. One object of them, he said, was to restore to Ireland the wool export and woollen manufacture. In sixteen hundred and ninety-two, from jealousy or some other motive, an address had been presented by the English parliament, recommending a kind of compact between the two kingdoms ; the terms of which were, that England should enjoy the woollen manufacture, and Ireland the linen, exclusively. But notwithstanding this agreement, it was certain, that England carried on the linen manufacture to as great extent as Ireland, while at the same time she retained the monopoly of the woollen. The first step taken, in consequence of this agreement, was to lay a heavy duty, equal to a prohibition, upon all wool and woollens exported ; and when this act, which was but a temporary one by way of experiment, expired, the English parliament passed a similar one, and made it perpetual ; by means of which and some others a total end was put to the woollen trade of Ireland.

With regard to the trade of Ireland, his lordship observed, that, upon an average of the six years from 1766 to 1772, the export to Ireland was somewhat more than two millions ; and, in the succeeding six years, from 1772 to 1778, about as much more ; nearly one half being British manufacture and produce ;

the other half certified articles, of which this country was the medium of conveyance. The native produce, on an average, was somewhat more than £900,000; but of this only £200,000 were woollens. The woollen manufacture of Ireland would long continue in a state of infancy; and though cloths had been manufactured sufficient for home consumption, yet it could hardly be expected that Ireland would rival Great Britain at the foreign markets, when, after the expence of land-carriage, freight, insurance, and factorage, the latter was able to undersell Ireland in her own market on the very spot, even though aided by the low wages and taxes paid in the country.

With regard to the linnen, his lordship observed, that however prosperous it might appear, yet it still was capable of great improvement. The idea of extending and improving the linen-manufacture of Ireland originated from a pamphlet written by sir William Temple; and this gave rise to the compact which had been referred to. But though this compact was now about to be dissolved, it was his opinion that the bounties on importing Irish linens ought not to be discontinued; because it appeared, that the British bounties had operated as a great encouragement to the Irish manufactures, at the same time that the sum appropriated to this purpose amounted to more than £13,000.

With regard to the dissolution of the compact betwixt England and Ireland, he observed, that, as a more liberal spirit had now appeared on both sides of the water, he hoped both kingdoms would be perfectly contented. Ireland would never be able to rival England in the fine woollen fabrics; but allowing the Irish to manufacture their own wool, would put an end to the contraband trade with France; and it ought to be remembered, that whatever was an advantage to Ireland, must, sooner or later, be of singular advantage to Great Britain, and by the proposed regulations in their commercial connections, the two kingdoms would be put more upon an equality.

With regard to the glass manufacture, his lordship likewise observed, that Ireland had been very injuriously treated. Before the act of 19th George II. they had begun to make some progress in the lower branches of the glass manufacture; but by that act they were not only prevented from importing any other glass than what was of British manufacture; but also

from exporting their own glass, or putting it on a horse or carriage with a design to be exported. This act had been complained of in Ireland as a great piece of injustice, and it was the intention of his proposition to remove that grievance.

With regard to the third proposition, his lordship observed, that allowing Ireland a free trade to the colonies must be considered as a favour to that kingdom. Considering her even as an independent state, she could set up no claim to an intercourse with the British colonies. By every principle of justice, of the laws of nations, and the custom of the other European powers who had settlements and distant dependencies, the mother country had an exclusive right to trade with, and to forbid all others from having any intercourse with them. Were not this the case, what nation under the sun would spend their blood and treasure in establishing a colony, and protecting and defending it in its infant state, if other nations were afterwards to reap the advantages derived from their labour, hazard, and expence. But though Great Britain had a right to restrain Ireland from trading with her colonies, his lordship declared himself of opinion that it would be proper to allow her to participate of the trade. This would be the only prudent means of affording her relief; it would be an unequivocal proof of the candour and sincerity of Great Britain; and he had not the least doubt but it would be received as such in Ireland. Britain, however, ought not to be a sufferer by her bounty to Ireland; but this would be the case, should the colony trade be thrown open to the latter, without accompanying it with restrictions similar to those which were laid upon the British trade with them. An equal trade must include an equal share of duties and taxes; and this was the only proper ground on which the benefits expected by the Irish nation could be either granted or desired.

Having made some other observations on the propriety of these measures, they were regularly formed into motions, and passed unanimously. In Ireland they were received with the utmost joy and gratitude by both houses of parliament. On the 20th of December the following resolutions were passed; viz. That the exportation of woollen and other manufactures from Ireland to all foreign places will materially tend to relieve

its distresses, increase its wealth, promote its prosperity, and therefore advance the welfare of Britain, and the common strength, wealth, and commerce of the British empire; that a liberty to trade with the British colonies in America and the West-Indies, and the settlements on the coast of Africa, will be productive of very great commercial benefits; will be a most affectionate mark of the regard and attention of Great Britain to the distresses of the kingdom; and will give new vigour to the zeal of his majesty's brave and loyal people of Ireland to stand forth in support of his majesty's person and government, and the interest, the honour, and dignity of the British empire. The same resolutions were next day passed in the house of peers.

The highest encomiums were now passed on lord North. His exertions in favour of Ireland were declared to have been great and noble; he was styled the great advocate of Ireland; and it was foretold, that he would be of glorious and immortal memory in that kingdom. But while these panegyrics were so lavishly made on the minister, the members in opposition, in the British parliament, were spoken of in very indifferent terms. It was said, that while they thought the minister did not mean to go into the business of Ireland, they called loudly for censure against him for not doing it; but when it was found that he meant seriously to take their affairs into consideration, they had then basely seceded, and wholly forsaken the interest of the kingdom. These censures were so loud, that a member of the British house of commons wrote a letter to be communicated to his friends in Ireland, in which he represented, that however politic it might be to compliment the minister on the present occasion, it was neither very wise nor generous in the members of the Irish parliament, to be so ready in bestowing invectives against their old friends in England. With regard to the minister, it was alleged, that until he was driven to it by the measures adopted in Ireland, his conduct had been extremely equivocal, dilatory, and indecisive. The minority had been justly incensed against him for having so grossly sacrificed the honour of the nation and the dignity of parliament, as to refuse any substantial relief to the Irish, until their own exertions had made it appear that every thing which could be done for them by the British parliament

was not a matter of choice but of necessity. The minority, it was said, had earnestly and repeatedly laboured to procure relief for the people of Ireland; and if they had now contented themselves with a silent acquiescence in the minister's propositions, it was only until they should know whether they would be satisfactory to the people of Ireland; and because what was now done, appeared to be more an act of state than of parliamentary deliberation and discussion.

To the propositions already mentioned, lord North added three others. 1. For repealing the prohibition of exporting gold coin from Great Britain to Ireland. 2. For removing the prohibition to import foreign hops into Ireland, and the drawback on the exportation of foreign hops. 3. For enabling his majesty's Irish subjects to become members of the Turkey company, and to export woollens in British or Irish bottoms to the Levant. In support of this last resolution his lordship urged, that it was necessary, because the exportation of woollens having been granted to Ireland, the Irish would naturally expect a share in the 'Turkey trade; which, as matters stood, was impossible, it having hitherto been a received opinion, that no Irishman could be elected a member of the Turkey company. Notwithstanding all the satisfaction, however, with which the news of these bills was received in Ireland, it was not long before thoughts of a different kind began to take place. It was suggested, that a free trade could be but of little use, if held by a precarious tenure. The repeal of the obnoxious laws was represented as an act of necessity, not of choice, on the part of the British parliament. When that necessity, therefore, no longer existed, the same parliament might recal the benefits it had granted, and again fetter the Irish trade by restrictions perhaps more oppressive than before. To secure the advantages they now possessed, it was necessary that the kingdom should enjoy the benefits of a free constitution. For this the people looked up to the volunteer companies; and the idea of having such a glorious object in their power, augmented the numbers of those which had also been increased from other causes. They had now received the thanks of both houses of parliament, and thus obtained the sanction of the legislature. Thus many who had formerly scrupled to connect themselves with a lawless

body, made no scruple to enter their lists. Government also engaged several of their friends in the volunteer cause. New companies were therefore raised ; but whatever might be the political sentiments of the officers, the private men were universally attached to the popular cause. The national spirit was likewise kept up by several patriotic publications, particularly the letters signed Owen Roe O'Neal, which in an especial manner attracted the public attention ; nor was the pulpit backward in contributing its part in the same cause.

To give the greater weight to their determinations, the volunteers now began to form themselves into battalions ; and in a very short time they were all united in this manner, excepting a small number of companies, which, from accidental causes, continued separate. The newspapers were filled with resolutions from the several corps, declaring Ireland to be an independent kingdom, entitled by reason, nature, and compact, to all the privileges of a free constitution ; that no power in the world, excepting the king, with the lords and commons of Ireland, had or ought to have, power to make laws for binding the Irish ; and that, in support of these rights and privileges, they were determined to sacrifice their lives and property.

Notwithstanding all this zeal, however, the representatives of the people in Ireland seem yet to have behaved in a very supine and careless manner, and to have been entirely obedient to the dictates of government. One of the house of commons declared in the month of April seventeen hundred and eighty, that " no power on earth, excepting the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, had a right to make laws to bind the people." " Every member in the house (says Mr. Crawford,) one excepted, acknowledge the truth of the proposition, either in express terms, or by not opposing it ; and yet, however astonishing it may appear, it was evident, that had the question been put, it would have been carried in the negative. " The matter was compromised. The question was not put : " and nothing relating to it was entered on the journals."

This inattention, or rather unwillingness, of the majority to serve their country, was more fully manifested in the case of a mutiny bill, which they allowed to be made perpetual in Ireland, though that in England had always been cautiously

passed only from year to year. After it was passed, however, some of the zealous patriots, particularly Mr. Grattan, took great pains to set forth the bad tendency of that act. He observed, that standing armies in the time of peace were contrary to the principles of the constitution and the safety of public liberty; they had subverted the liberty of all nations excepting in those cases where their number was small, or the power of the sovereign over them limited in some respect or other; but it was in vain to think of setting bounds to the power of the chief magistrate, if the people chose by a statute to bind themselves to give them a perpetual and irresistible force. The mutiny bill, or martial law methodized, was directly opposite to the common law of the land. It set aside the trial by jury and all the ordinary steps of law; establishing in their stead a summary proceeding, arbitrary crimes and punishments, a secret sentence, and sudden execution. The object of this was to bring those who were subject to it to a state of implicit subordination, and render the authority of the sovereign absolute. The people of England, therefore, from a laudable jealousy on all subjects in which their liberty was concerned, had in the matter of martial law exceeded their usual caution. In the preamble to the mutiny act, they recited part of the declaration of right, "that standing armies had martial law in time of peace, without the consent of parliament, are illegal." Having then stated the purity and simplicity of their ancient constitution, and set forth the great principle of magna charta, they admitted a partial and temporary repeal of it: they admitted an army, and a law for its regulation, but at the same time they limited the number of the former, and the duration of both; confining the existence of the troops themselves, the law that regulated them, and the power that commanded them, to one year. Thus were the standing forces of England rendered a parliamentary army, and the military rendered effectually subordinate to the civil magistrate, because dependent on parliament. Yet the people of England considered the army, even thus limited, only as a necessary evil, and would not admit even of barracks, lest the soldier should be still more alienated from the state of a subject; and in this state of alienation have a post of strength, which would augment the danger arising from his situation. When

the parliament of Ireland proceeded to regulate the army, therefore, they ought to have adopted the maxims of the British constitution, as well as the rules of British discipline. But they had totally departed from the maxims and example of the English, and that in the most important concern, the government of the sword. They had omitted the preamble which declared the great charter of liberty; they had left the number of forces in the breast of the king, and under these circumstances they had made the bill perpetual.

It is probable that the bulk of the Irish nation did not at first perceive the dangerous tendency of the bill in question. The representations of Mr. Grattan and others, however, soon opened their eyes, and a general dissatisfaction took place. This was much increased by two unsuccessful attempts in the house of commons; one to obtain an act for modifying Poynning's law; and the other for securing the independency of the judges. A universal disgust against the spiritless conduct of parliament now took place; and the hopes of the people were once more set on the volunteers.

As it became now somewhat probable that these companies might at last be obliged to assert the rights of their countrymen by force of arms, reviews were judged necessary to teach them how to act in larger bodies, and to give them more exact knowledge of the use of arms. Several of these reviews took place in the summer of one thousand seven hundred and eighty. The spectators in general were struck with the novelty and grandeur of the sight; the volunteers became more than ever the objects of esteem and admiration, and their numbers increased accordingly. The reviews in the following year exceeded those of the former; and the dexterity of the corps who had associated more early, was now observed to be greater than that of the rest. More than five thousand men were reviewed at Belfast, whose performances were set off to peculiar advantage by the display of thirteen pieces of cannon. They showed their alacrity to serve their country in the field, on a report having arisen that the kingdom was to be invaded by the combined fleets of France and Spain; and for their spirited behaviour on this occasion they received a second time the thanks of both houses of parliament.

Such prodigious military preparations could not but alarm the British ministry in the highest degree; and it was not to be doubted that the Irish volunteers would come to the same extremities the Americans had done, unless their wishes were speedily complied with. Still, however, it was imagined possible to suppress them, and it was supposed to be the duty of the lord lieutenant to do so. It was during the administration of the duke of Buckingham that the volunteers had grown into such consequence: he was therefore recalled, and the earl of Carlisle appointed in his place. Though it was impossible for the new governor to suppress the spirit of the nation, he found it no difficult matter to obtain a majority in parliament. Thus every redress was for the present effectually denied. Neither the modification of Poyning's law, nor the repeal of the obnoxious parts of the mutiny bill, could be obtained. The volunteers, exasperated at this behaviour, resolved at once to shew that they were determined to do themselves justice, and were conscious that they had power to do so. At a meeting of the officers of the southern battalion of the Armagh regiment, commanded by the earl of Charlemount, the following resolutions were entered into, December 28th, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-one.—1. That the "most vigorous and effectual methods ought to be pursued for rooting corruption out from the legislative body. 2. For this purpose a meeting of delegates from all the volunteer associations was necessary; and Dungannon, as the most central town in the province of Ulster, seemed to be the fittest place for holding such a meeting. 3. That as many and lasting advantages might attend the holding such a meeting before the present session of parliament was much farther advanced, the 15th of February next should be appointed for it.

These resolutions proved highly offensive to the friends of government, and every method was taken to discourage it. On the appointed day, however, the representatives of a hundred and forty-three volunteer corps did attend at Dungannon; and the results of their deliberations were as follow:—1. It having been asserted, that volunteers, as such, cannot with propriety debate or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or public men, it was resolved unan-

mously, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, does not abandon any of his civil rights. 2. That a claim from any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind the people, is illegal, unconstitutional, and a grievance. 3. Resolved, with one dissenting voice only, that the powers exercised by the privy council of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poyning's, are unconstitutional and a grievance. 4. Resolved unanimously, that the ports of this country are by right open to all foreign countries not at war with the king; and that any burden thereupon, or obstruction thereto, excepting only by the parliament of Ireland, are unconstitutional and a grievance. 5. Resolved, with one dissenting voice only, that a mutiny bill, not limited in point of duration from session to session, is unconstitutional and a grievance. 6. Resolved unanimously, that the independence of judges is equally essential to the impartial administration of justice in Ireland as in England, and that the refusal or delay of this right, is in itself unconstitutional and a grievance. 7. Resolved, with eleven dissenting voices only, that it is the decided and unalterable determination of the volunteer associations to seek a redress of those grievances; and they pledged themselves to their country, and to each other, as freeholders, fellow-citizens, and men of honour, that they would, at every ensuing election, support only those who had supported them, and would support them therein, and that they would use all constitutional means to make such pursuit of redress speedy and effectual. 8. Resolved, with only one dissenting voice, that the minority in parliament, who had supported those constitutional rights, are entitled to the most grateful thanks of the volunteer companies, and that an address to the purpose be signed by the chairman, and published with the resolutions of the present meeting. 9. Resolved unanimously, that four members from each county of the province of Ulster, eleven to be a quorum, be appointed a committee till the next general meeting, to act for the volunteer corps, and to call general meetings of the province as occasion requires. 10. The committee being appointed, and the time of general meetings, and some other affairs of a similar nature settled, it was resolved unanimously, that the court of Portugal having unjustly refused entry to certain Irish

commodities, the delegates would not consume any wine of the growth of Portugal, and that they would use all their influence to prevent the use of the said wine, excepting what was then in the kingdom, until such time as the Irish exports should be received into the kingdom of Portugal. 11. Resolved, with only two dissenting voices, that they hold the right of private judgment in matters of religion equally sacred in others as in themselves; and that they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, as a measure fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

CHAPTER X.

WHILE these proceedings took place at Dungannon, the ministry carried all before them in parliament. In a debate concerning the exclusive legislative privileges of Ireland, a law member, speaking of the arbitrary acts of England, asserted, that "power constituted right;" and a motion that the commons should be declared the representatives of the people, was carried in the negative. These scandalous proceedings could not but hasten the ruin of their cause. The resolutions entered into at the Dungannon meeting were received throughout the kingdom with the utmost applause. A few days after, Mr. Grattan, whose patriotism has been already taken notice of, moved in the house of commons for a long and spirited address to his majesty, declaring the rights of the kingdom, and asserting the principle which now began to prevail, that Ireland could legally be bound by no power but that of the king, lords, and commons of the country; though the British parliament had assumed such a power. This motion was at present rejected by a large majority; but their eyes were soon enlightened by the volunteers.

These having now appointed their committees of correspondence, were enabled to communicate their sentiments to one another with the utmost facility and quickness. An association was formed in the name of the nobility, representatives, freeholders, and inhabitants of the county of Armagh, wherein they set forth the necessity of declaring their senti-

ments openly, respecting the fundamental and undoubted rights of the nation. They declared, that in every situation in life, and with all the means in their power, they would maintain the constitutional right of the kingdom to be governed only by the king and parliament of Ireland; and that they would, in every instance, uniformly and strenuously oppose the execution of any statutes, excepting such as derived their authority from the parliament just mentioned; and they pledged themselves to support what they now declared with their lives and fortunes.

This declaration was quickly adopted by all the counties, and similar sentiments became universally avowed throughout the kingdom. The change in the British ministry in the spring of one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two, facilitated the wishes of the people. The duke of Portland, who came over as lord lieutenant in April that year, sent a most welcome message to parliament. He informed them, that "his majesty, "being concerned to find that discontents and jealousies were "prevailing among his loyal subjects in Ireland, upon matters "of great weight and importance; he recommended it to parliament to take the same into their most serious consideration, "in order to such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to his kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland."

Mr. Grattan, whose patriotic efforts had never been slackened, now ventured to propose a second time in parliament, the address which had been rejected before. On the 16th of April he began a speech to this purpose, with an elegant panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the people. The Irish, he said, were no longer a divided colony, but an united land, manifesting itself to the rest of the world in signal instances of glory. In the rest of Europe, the ancient spirit was expired; liberty was yielded, or empire lost; nations were living upon the memory of past glory, or under the care of mercenary armies. In Ireland, however, the people, by departing from the example of other nations, had now become an example to them. Liberty, in former times, and in other nations, was recovered by the quick feelings and rapid impulse of the populace. But in Ireland, at the present period, it was recovered by an act of the whole nation, reasoning for three years on its situation, and then rescuing itself by a settled sense of right pervading the

land. The meeting of the delegates at Dungannon was an original measure; and like all of that kind, continued to be matter of surprise, until at last it became matter of admiration. Great measures, such as the meeting of the English at Runnymede, and of the Irish at Dungannon, were not the consequences of precedent, but carried in themselves both precedent and principle; and the public cause in both instances would infallibly have been lost had it been trusted to parliament. The meeting at Dungannon had resolved, that the claim of the British parliament was illegal; and this was a constitutional declaration. The Irish volunteers were associated for the preservation of the laws, but the conduct of the British parliament subverted all law. England, however, had no reason to fear the Irish volunteers; they would sacrifice their lives in her cause. The two nations formed a general confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the crown was a great bond, but magna charta was still a greater. It would be easy for Ireland to find a king; but it would be impossible to find a nation who could communicate to them such a charter as magna charta; and it was this which made their natural connection with England. The Irish nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to suffer any other nation to make their laws. England had indeed brought forward the question, not only by making laws for Ireland the preceding session, but by enabling his majesty to repeal all the laws which England had made for America. Had she consented to repeal the declaratory law against America? and would she refuse to repeal that against Ireland? The Irish nation were incapable of submitting to such a distinction.

Mr. Grattan now found his eloquence much more powerful than formerly. The motion which, during this very session, had been rejected by a great majority, was now agreed to after a short debate, and the address to his majesty prepared accordingly. In this, after thanking his majesty for his gracious message, and declaring their attachment to his person and government, they assured him, that the subjects of Ireland are a free people; that the crown of Ireland is an imperial crown, inseparably annexed to that of Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations essentially depend: but

the kingdom of Ireland is distinct, with a parliament of its own ; that there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind Ireland, except the king, lords, and commons thereof; nor any other parliament that hath any power or authority of any sort whatsoever, in this country, except the parliament of Ireland. They assured his majesty, that they humbly conceive, that in this right the very essence of their liberties did exist; a right which they, on the part of all Ireland, do claim as their birth-right, and which they cannot yield but with their lives. They assured his majesty, that they had seen with concern certain claims advanced by the parliament of Great Britain, in an act intitled, "For the better securing the dependency of Ireland;" an act containing matter entirely irreconcilable to the fundamental rights of the nation. They informed his majesty, that they conceived this act, and the claims it advanced, to be the great and principal cause of the discontents and jealousies in the kingdom. They assured him, that his commons did most sincerely wish, that all the bills which become law in Ireland, should receive the approbation of his majesty under the seal of Great Britain; but yet, that they conceived the practice of suppressing their bills in the council of Ireland, or altering them any where, to be another just cause of discontent and jealousy. They further assured his majesty, that an act intitled, "For the better accommodation of his majesty's forces," being unlimited in duration, and defective in some other circumstances, was another just cause of jealousy and discontent. These, the principal causes of jealousies and discontent in the kingdom, they had submitted to his majesty, in humble expectation of redress; and they concluded with an assurance, that they were more confident in the hope of obtaining redress, as the people of Ireland had been, and were, not more disposed to share the freedom of England, than to support her in her difficulties, and to share her fate.

To this remarkable address a most gracious answer was given. In a few days the lord lieutenant made a speech to both houses; in which he informed them, that by the magnanimity of the king, and wisdom of the British parliament, he was enabled to assure them, that immediate attention had been paid to their representations, and that the legislature of Britain had concurred in a resolution to remove the causes of

their discontents, and were united in a desire to gratify every wish expressed in the late address to the throne: and that, in the mean time, his majesty was graciously disposed to give his royal assent to acts to prevent the suppressing of bills in the Irish privy council, and to limit the mutiny-bill to the term of two years.

The joy which now diffused itself all over the kingdom was extreme. The warmest addresses were presented not only to his majesty, but to the lord lieutenant. The commons instantly voted a hundred thousand pounds to his majesty, to enable him to raise twenty thousand men for the navy; and soon after, five thousand men were likewise voted from the Irish establishment. The volunteers became in a peculiar manner the objects of gratitude and universal praise; but none was placed in so conspicuous a light as Mr. Grattan. Addresses of thanks flowed in upon him from all quarters; and the commons addressed his majesty to give him fifty thousand pounds, as a recompense of his services; for which they promised to make provision.

This request was also complied with; but still the jealousies of the Irish were not completely eradicated. As the intended repeal of the declaratory act was found to be simple, without any clause expressly relinquishing the claim of right, several members of the house of commons were of opinion, that the liberties of Ireland were not yet thoroughly secured. The majority, however, were of opinion, that the simple repeal of the obnoxious act was sufficient; but many of the nation at large held different sentiments. Mr. Flood, a member of the house, and a zealous patriot, now took the lead in this matter; while Mr. Grattan lost much of his popularity by espousing the contrary opinion. The matter, however, was to appearance finally settled by the volunteers, who declared themselves on Mr. Grattan's side. Still some murmurings were heard; and it must be owned, that even yet the conduct of Britain appeared equivocal. An English law was passed, *permitting* importation from one of the West-India islands to all his majesty's dominions; and of course including Ireland, though the trade of the latter had been declared absolutely free. This was looked upon in a very unfavourable light. Great offence was

also taken at a member of the English house of lords, for a speech in parliament, in which he asserted, that Great Britain had a right to bind Ireland in matters of an external nature ; and proposed to bring in a bill for that purpose. The public discontent was also greatly inflamed by some circumstances relating to this bill, which were particularly obnoxious. Lord Beauchamp, in a spirited letter addressed to the first company of Belfast volunteers, was at much pains to show that the security of the legislative privileges obtained from the parliament of Britain was insufficient. The lawyers corps of volunteers, in Dublin, who also took the question into consideration, were of the same opinion ; but the circumstance which gave the greatest offence was, that the chief justice in the English court of king's-bench gave judgment in an Irish cause, contrary to a law which had limited all such judgments to the first of June. All these reasons of discontent, however, were removed upon the death of the marquis of Rockingham, and the appointment of the new ministry who succeeded him. Lord Temple went over to Ireland, and his brother and secretary, Mr. Grenville, went to England, where he made such representations of the discontents which prevailed concerning the insufficiency of the declaratory act, that Mr. Townshend, one of the secretaries of state, moved in the house of commons for leave to bring in a bill to remove from the minds of the people of Ireland all doubts respecting their legislative and judicial privileges. This bill contained, in the fullest and most express terms, a relinquishment on the part of the British legislature, of all claims of a right to interfere with the judgment of the Irish courts, or to make laws to bind Ireland in time to come.

The short, but highly useful, administration of lord Temple, was followed by that of the earl of Northington, on the third of June, seventeen hundred and eighty-three. The expected dissolution of parliament, (which immediately took place) had created an universal ferment in the minds of the people. The volunteers again showed themselves the worthy guardians of the liberties of their country. Delegates from forty-five companies in the province of Ulster, met at Lisburn on the first of July, to deliberate on the most effectual means of bringing about a parliamentary reform ; and, appointing a committee of correspondence

with other associated corps, requested a general meeting of delegates of the province on the eighth of September. The representatives of two hundred and seventy-two companies accordingly assembled at Dungannon, on the day specified. Impressed with a high sense of their own strength, and animated with the love of liberty and independence, they published several resolutions concerning the parliamentary representation of the people; and electing five persons to represent each county in a national convention, which they appointed to be held in Dublin in the month of November, they sent pressing solicitations to the other provinces to join in a measure, which they hoped would be attended with consequences so salutary. Their chief complaint was, that of three hundred members who composed the house of commons, only *seventy-two* were elected by the voice of the people! *fifty-three* peers having it in their power to nominate a *hundred and twenty-four* members, and to influence the election of ten; and *fifty-two* commoners to nominate *ninety-one*, and influence the election of three!

In the new parliament (October) the thanks of both houses were voted to the volunteers, for their spirited support of the execution of the laws; and resolutions were passed, "That in the present state of the kingdom, it was expedient that there be a session of parliament held every year." But when the delegates, in compliance with the invitation from Dungannon, met in a national convention in Dublin, and appointing a committee for the purpose, digested and presented a plan of parliamentary reform, by which every protestant freeholder, possessed of a freehold to the value of forty shillings, should be entitled to vote for the return of a member to parliament for any city or borough where he might reside; by which any member of parliament who should accept a pension or a place from the crown for life, should be deprived of his seat; by which every member should make oath, that he had not, directly nor indirectly, given any consideration to procure the suffrage of an elector; and by which the duration of parliament should be limited to a term not more than two years;—this very parliament rejected the proposition, by a majority of one hundred and fifty-eight to forty-nine; and presented an address to the king, in which they

pledged themselves to defend the present constitution with their lives and fortunes.

The convention, on the second of December, voted an indefinite adjournment, after resolving to carry on individually such investigations as might be necessary to complete the plan of parliamentary reform ; and to address the king, expressing their duty and loyalty, and imploring his majesty, that their humble wish to have parliamentary abuses remedied by the legislature in a reasonable degree, might not be esteemed as proceeding from a spirit of innovation, but merely from the sincerest attachment to, and a desire to support the principles of the constitution, to secure the satisfaction and loyalty of their countrymen, and to render the cordial unanimity and co-operation of the kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland perpetual. Thus tamely concluding a business which appeared so formidable at its commencement, and surrendering all hopes of reaping any further benefits to their country by their exertions.

Among the various spirited modes of forwarding political innovations in these busy times, was the forming of popular clubs, which, under different appellations, were rapidly established in the metropolis and elsewhere. The principal of these, intitled the *Whig Club*, was distinguished by the acquisition of many persons high in rank, in talents, and in the estimation of their countrymen. It has been contended, that a majority of the members of this club, wished merely to bring about a reformation of the political system, and to obtain a more equal representation of the people in parliament. Many of them, however, appear to have aimed at the accomplishment of a greater object, a revolution ; which was to overturn the existing government, and to establish a democratical commonwealth in its place. These formed connections with the *Whigs of the Capital*, another revolutionary association, who were evidently bent on a total subversion of the government, and with several other clubs of a similar description ; till at length arose that extraordinary and highly formidable society, distinguished by the title of *United Irishmen*.

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

IRISH REBELLION.

PART II.

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PART II.

From the formation of the Society of United Irishmen, in the Year seventeen hundred and ninety, to the conclusion of the Rebellion in seventeen hundred and ninety-eight.

CHAPTER I.

WE come now to trace the devastating progress of the late rebellion ; and as its origin may not improperly be dated from the formation of the society of *United Irishmen*, we have commenced this part of our work with stating the rise of that celebrated body.

In the month of October, seventeen hundred and ninety, this famous association first appeared in Belfast, a town which, like Sheffield in England, and Boston in America, has been long justly famed for its enlightened and patriotic inhabitants. The first society, in which were inrolled some men who afterwards shone conspicuous as principals in the rebellion, had no sooner published their political principles and views, than three similar clubs were immediately organized in Belfast, from whence their sentiments were diffused, and their measures adopted, with great rapidity throughout the province of Ulster. In the following year the united societies appeared in Dublin, and were soon increased and promoted by some most respectable names and characters, and by men possessed of the most splendid talents.

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The immediate view of this extraordinary combination, was to consolidate into one great political body the whole of their countrymen, without regarding any of those religious distinctions which had hitherto kept them from acting in concert ; “ for the “ purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights, and a union of power, among Irishmen of every “ religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform “ in the legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political, “ and religious liberty.” The emancipation of the catholics, that is, the abolition of distinctions between the romanists and the protestants, and the attainment of a thoroughly democratic house of commons in parliament, were the avowed purposes for which they were associated. In the plan which they submitted to the public, they proposed that the parliament should be annual ; that the whole kingdom should be divided into three hundred electorates, all as equal in population as possible ; that neither the elector nor the representative should be disqualified by want of property ; but that every man, twenty-one years of age, and possessed of his reasoning faculties, should be entitled to vote, provided he had been resident in the place during the last six months previous to the election ; and that to be qualified for a representative, it was only necessary to be resident within the kingdom, to hold no place nor pension under government ; and to be of the full age of twenty-five years ; and that each representative should be allowed a reasonable salary for his attendance in parliament.

In the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two, a subscription was set on foot to raise money for the purpose of arming and embodying a number of men in the metropolis, under the denomination of *national guards*. The uniform of these guards was green, the national colour of Ireland, with buttons on which was inscribed the harp, also the armorial ensign of that country ; but, to denote their wished-for overthrow of monarchy, divested of the crown, with which it had been hitherto accompanied. A day of general muster (December 9.) was appointed for these guards, apparently with intention to make an ostentatious display of their strength, in hopes of inspiring their friends with still greater confidence and courage, and of striking terror and dismay into their enemies ; or per

haps with a determination even then to raise the standard of open rebellion, to seize the capital, and to commence immediately all the active operations of an offensive civil warfare. Meantime government, wisely determining to crush every appearance of insurrection in its infancy, prepared to act with vigour in the impending struggle.

The cloud of disaffection which had gradually deepened its shade, and continued to spread its influence over the political state of both kingdoms, seemed now ready to explode with dreadful effects in Ireland. To prevent, if possible, the further extension of the evil, the lord-lieutenant, on the eighth of December, the day immediately preceding that of the intended muster, issued a proclamation peremptorily prohibiting all seditious assemblies, or armed associations not authorised by the supreme power of the state; and commanding the magistrates, should admonition and gentle measures not be found sufficient to disperse all such, to employ the utmost efforts of military force without hesitation in order to effect their purpose. The national guards, alarmed by the determined and menacing language of this proclamation, and intimidated by the formidable appearance of the garrison of the city, who were drawn up in martial array, deferred their meeting, which they never afterwards had opportunity or inclination to attempt. The principals of the society, however, assembled on the fourteenth, and published a counter-manifesto or proclamation, in which they called upon the volunteers again to take arms, for the purpose of defending the country against all enemies, internal or foreign, and of preserving tranquility, and warmly advising protestants to choose deputies for provincial assemblies, previous to a general convention, which they declared was absolutely necessary to form a common cause with the Roman catholics. Archibald Hamilton Rowan, a gentleman of respectable fortune and family, illustrious for his philanthropy, and amiable for his private character and deportment, having acted as secretary at the above meeting, was, on account of this manifesto, arrested in the ensuing month, and being brought to trial in January seventeen hundred and ninety-four, and found guilty of the charges brought against him, was sentenced to pay a fine of five hundred pounds, to be imprisoned two years, and,

before his liberation, to give a security of four thousand pounds for his good behaviour during seven years. On the political principles of this gentleman, we consider it unnecessary to animadvert. That he was a warm friend to humanity, a strenuous advocate for the liberty of mankind, is sufficient for us : let the feelings of his countrymen decide whether he espoused the right side of the question or the reverse. Doctor William Drennan, who had been chairman of the same assembly, being brought to trial in June, was acquitted ; and James Napper Tandy a citizen of Dublin, so celebrated for his activity in promoting the views of the political societies, having been arrested, gave bail for his appearance, and made his escape out of the kingdom. A clergyman named William Jackson was also arrested, charged with being engaged in a treasonable correspondence with France. And Mr. Rowan, as he was deeply implicated in this correspondence, afraid of being again brought to trial and capitally convicted, contrived to escape from prison, and precipitately fled the kingdom. Mr. Jackson was found guilty, but evaded the shame of a public execution by swallowing a dose of poison, in consequence of which he expired in the bar before sentence was passed upon him, in presence of a vast multitude of spectators.

Edward Byrne merchant, with several others, members of a secret committee of Romanists, which for several years had subsisted in the metropolis, issued writs to the catholic parish priests throughout every county, and many towns and districts in the kingdom, desiring the holding of elections of deputies to compose an assembly representative of the whole body of Irish Romanists. The elections (according to the republican plan adopted in France) were to be held in the catholic chapels of each district. The writs were immediately obeyed ; the elections were made with the utmost celerity, and the *Catholic Convention* assembled publicly on the third of December seventeen hundred and ninety-two, in the Tailors-Hall, Dublin. The chiefs of the Romanists, encouraged by the very favourable declarations of several protestant associations, by the conduct of the highly celebrated Edmund Burke and his associates in Britain, together with the oppositionists in parliament, and by the society of United Irishmen, formed this particular plan, to associate by

themselves, apparently with design to co-operate with the conductors of the general associations, who were endeavouring with all their influence to root out religious distinctions, and to unite zealously their countrymen into one great political phalanx. The protestants, alarmed at this bold and determined measure of Byrne, in issuing writs for electing a popish convention, were encouraged by the conduct of government to enter into strong resolutions condemning it in severe terms; and strenuously declared that they would uphold the constitution, as it then stood, against all attacks from the democratic or republican principles then aiming at its overthrow. The catholics, meanwhile, retorted with much acrimony of invective on the resolutions of the protestants, and assembling in many counties, districts, and towns, defended Byrne's elective plan with great spirit and resolution. On the seventeenth of September they submitted to two barristers a case on the legality of the measure, and obtained from them their opinions in the affirmative. This they circulated with the greatest industry in the public prints, in order to inspire with confidence their adherents, and to encourage their agents in all parts of the kingdom to fresh exertions in stirring up the seeds of disaffection among the people.

The *Catholic Convention*, however, was so disgraced by the intemperate and illiberal proceedings of many of its own body, as to cause near seventy of its members, among whom were lords Kenmare and Fingall, together with many other gentlemen of rank and respectability, whose names would have conferred lustre and added weight to their deliberations, to secede with disgust. It continued, notwithstanding, to direct with absolute sway, the affairs of by far the greater part of the catholic body of Ireland.

After having prepared a petition to the king, and nominated nine of their number to form a permanent committee for the management of the projected plans, the convention closed its session. Sir Thomas French, Christopher Bellew, James E. Devereux, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh, esquires, the delegates appointed to convey this petition to the king, having proceeded to Belfast, on their way to London, were received there with every mark of attention and respect. Immediately on their arrival at the Donegal Arms being known, a number of

respectable inhabitants waited on and breakfasted with them. They remained in town about two hours, and on departing, were drawn in triumph, not by that class of people usually employed on such occasions, but by a party of the Belfast volunteer artillery, all persons in good circumstances, who had in the mean time assembled, and fixed the drag-ropes of their field-pieces to the carriage of the delegates, amidst an astonishing crowd of spectators. In this manner were they drawn quite through the town and along the bridge on the road to Donaghadee, where the horses were again put to, amidst continued acclamations from the surrounding multitude, who repeatedly cheered the travellers with shouts of "success attend you!"—"union!"—"equal laws!"—and "down with the ascendancy!" The delegates politely returned thanks for the generous treatment they had experienced, and declared their determination to promote and maintain, by every means in their power, that union which formed the strength and security of Ireland. When one of them offered a sum of money to be distributed among the populace, it was peremptorily refused even by the poorest of the people. "Since you refuse any gratuity," said the person who offered it, "should your delegates arrive in Dublin, on any similar occasion, we shall give them a pull also;" which was returned by a general shout of "Union! union!—May we be always found to pull together!" and the carriage moved on amidst reiterated cheerings and huzzas. This is a remarkable instance of the total extinction of all religious animosities in that part of the kingdom, where little more than a century ago, the most horrid atrocities were reciprocally committed by both catholics and protestants on the persons and properties of each other. Now, delegates from the catholic body, dispatched for the purpose of obtaining the entire emancipation of their sect, while passing through a large and populous protestant town, are received with the utmost applause, and considered, not as men possessing different religious sentiments, and therefore unworthy of confidence and support, but as fellow countrymen, engaged in forwarding the happiness and prosperity of their country,—an unequivocal and irrefragable proof, amongst many others, that the protestants, at

least, had no object in view but the diffusion of a more liberal and extensive system of civil liberty.

In consequence of the petition from the Romanists, his majesty, in seventeen hundred and ninety-three, was pleased to recommend to parliament to take their situation into consideration; and, in compliance with this injunction, the whole of the restrictive laws were repealed, except those by which they were excluded from sitting in parliament, and from holding about thirty great offices of state, which are immediately concerned in the confidential department of the executive government. This apparent lenity of the administration, however, was merely a continuation of that detestable system of policy, with regard to the affairs of Ireland, which first began to exert itself in the reign of Elizabeth, to foment the internal disunion of the Irish; that so they might be kept in a state of greater weakness, and thus their dependancy on England be more secure. But an effectual bar to the meeting of conventions, or other assemblies, was enacted by a bill styled the "convention bill," proposed by the Lord chancellor, Fitzgibbon, earl of Clare, professing to "prevent the election or other appointment of conventions, or unlawful assemblies, under pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, to his majesty or the parliament." A national assembly, intended to have been convened in the month of September, was thus prevented from meeting; the proceedings of which, at that time, might have been attended with the most formidable consequences.

Had the protestant conductors of the Society of United Irishmen, towards the close of the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two, succeeded in their attempt to overawe the government by their intended ostentatious display of strength at the appointed general muster of the national guards, which appeared to be the object they had then most immediately in view, and thence to proceed by slow and cautious, but bolder and bolder measures to effect a revolution, the principles of the Romanists, who were also members of that association, would have had opportunity to put in execution their own scheme whatever it might be. Be that as it may, the lower class of Romanists appear evidently to have aimed at nothing less than the

exclusive establishment of their own system of religious worship. Enraptured by the hopes of so desirable a change, they could not conceal their sentiments. An alarming ferment rapidly prevailed. Songs, scurrilously abusive of the protestant religion, were publicly sung in the streets, and by tiplers in public houses. In seventeen hundred and ninety-three, a considerable body of insurgents, with a design to liberate some prisoners confined in the goal of Wexford, assembled and tumultuously attacked that town. Though they were in number about two thousand, and though they were opposed by the fire of about only thirty-five soldiers, yet, so little had they been used to meet an armed enemy, so grossly deficient were they in military skill, that they were repulsed with considerable slaughter. In this futile attempt major Vallotton, a brave and worthy soldier, was slain on the part of the king's troops. Several other trifling insurrections, particularly about the collieries in the counties of Kilkenny and Wexford, were suppressed with ease.

Many of the heads of the Romanists are said to have regretted the loss of this opportunity of striking home by a general insurrection, when government was not prepared for the blow. In the year seventeen hundred and ninety-five, however, an ample field was opened to their hopes of success. By order of their permanent committee, petitions, on a model by them prescribed, were addressed by the whole body to parliament, demanding the complete emancipation of the catholics. Earl Fitzwilliam, the lord lieutenant, an associate of Edmund Burke, was a bitter enemy to the French republicans; and though the Romanists of Ireland chiefly depended on them for assistance in a revolution for the establishment of their church; yet by a strange infatuation (unless we suppose he himself to have been tinctured with papacy) was he strenuously attached to the latter. Before, however, he could gratify their wishes, he was superseded by the earl of Camden as lord lieutenant. The discontents were consequently rapidly augmented; many seditious speeches and resolutions, by authority of the committee, were published; the Romanists were invited to assemble at a chapel in Dublin, and disturbances every where increased.

Such was the disappointment of the Romanists, and such the implacable resentment with which the lower classes among them were inspired against their protestant fellow-subjects, and the government by which they conceived themselves so grievously oppressed, that they proceeded immediately to plunge into the greatest excesses. The destructive rage of a party calling themselves *defenders*, in particular, manifested itself by the desolation of many parts of the kingdom, especially in the counties of Dublin, Meath, Westmeath, Kildare, King's and Queen's Counties, Louth, Armagh, Monaghan, Cavan, Derry, Donegal, Roscommon, Letrim, Longford, Sligo, and part of that of Down. The houses of protestants were plundered for the purpose of procuring arms, often burned; and not unfrequently such of their inmates as made any resistance were slain. Such of their aggrieved countrymen as dared to prosecute, or to assist the civil magistracy in the execution of the laws, were barbarously massacred. The cattle were most imprudently and inhumanly houghed or destroyed, and letters, threatening these and other most direful effects of their resentment, were wrote to compel persons to comply with their requisitions. The peaceable inhabitants were compelled to abandon their houses, in many of the disturbed districts, and to fly, in all the wildness, trembling, and agony, of affright and consternation, to their respective county towns, or to the metropolis for refuge.

On the arrival of lord Camden as governor [April, 1795.] he was immediately waited on by the officers of state, and by many of the nobility and gentry. But on the return of the lord chancellor, his carriage was tumultuously attacked by the mob. The machine was nearly battered to pieces by repeated volleys of stones, and it was with the utmost difficulty his lordship escaped, after receiving a severe contusion on the forehead. After assaulting the primate in the same outrageous manner, the same party proceeded with alacrity to the house of Mr. John Claudius Beresford, nephew to the marquis of Waterford, which they vigorously attacked. One of them, however, being killed by a shot, the remainder fled with precipitation.

During this universal agitation, the United Irishmen were assiduously employed in bringing over to their views persons of activity and literary talents throughout the kingdom; in dis-

seminating the popular work of Thomas Payne intitled *The Rights of Man*, and other similar publications, and even began to assume without disguise, a decided revolutionary character. The declaration presented to each member for signature on his being admitted into this society was "I **** in the presence of God, do pledge myself to my country, that I will use all my abilities and influence in the attainment of an impartial and adequate representation of the Irish nation in parliament; and, as a means of absolute and immediate necessity in the establishment of this chief good of Ireland, I will endeavour as much as lies in my ability to forward a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and a union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, without which every reform of parliament must be partial not national; inadequate to the wants, delusive to the wishes, and insufficient for the freedom and happiness of this country."

In the new test, or oath of admission, which they now adopted, however, their ultimate intentions were more openly avowed. "In the awful presence of Almighty God, I **** do voluntarily declare that I will persevere in endeavouring to form a brotherhood of affection among Irishmen of *every* religious persuasion; and I will also persevere in my endeavours to obtain an equal, full, and adequate representation" (the mention of a parliament is here carefully omitted) "of *all* the people of Ireland. I do further declare that neither hopes, fears, rewards, or punishments, shall ever induce me directly or indirectly, to inform on or give evidence against any member or members of this or similar societies; for any act or expression of theirs done or made collectively or individually, in or out of this society, in pursuance of the spirit of this obligation."

In their original declaration are the following words: "In the present great æra of reform, when unjust governments are falling in every quarter of Europe; when religious persecution is compelled to abjure her tyranny over conscience; when the rights of men are ascertained in theory, and that theory substantiated by practice; when antiquity can no longer defend absurd and oppressive forms against the common sense and common interests of mankind; when all government is acknowledged to originate from the people, and to be so far

“ only obligatory, as it protects their rights and promotes their
 “ welfare, we think it our duty as Irishmen to come forward
 “ and state what we feel to be our heavy grievance, and what
 “ we know to be its effectual remedy.

“ *We have no national government.* We are ruled by English-
 “ men and the servants of Englishmen, whose object is the
 “ interest of another country; whose instrument is corruption;
 “ whose strength is the weakness of Ireland; and these men
 “ have the whole of the power and patronage of the country, as
 “ means to seduce and subdue the honesty and the spirit of her
 “ representatives in the legislature. Such an extrinsic power,
 “ acting with uniform force in a direction too frequently opposite
 “ to the true line of our obvious interests, can be resisted with
 “ effect solely by unanimity, decision, and spirit in the people;
 “ qualities which may be exerted most legally, constitutionally,
 “ and efficaciously, by that great measure essential to the pros-
 “ perity and freedom of Ireland—an equal representation of all
 “ the people in parliament.”

The following extract of a letter, addressed by Theobald Wolfe Tone, a lawyer of uncommon talents and energy, and one of the original framers of the institution, to his associates in Belfast, will evidently show, that the reform here professed was merely an ostensible object; held out for the purpose of uniting those who aimed only at a partial reform, with those who had in view a complete revolution:—“ The foregoing contain my true
 “ and sincere opinion of the state of this country, so far as in the
 “ present juncture it may be advisable to publish it. They certain-
 “ ly fall short of the truth; but truth itself must sometimes conde-
 “ scend to temporise. My unalterable opinion is, that the bane
 “ of Irish prosperity is in the influence of England: I believe that
 “ influence will never be extended while the connection between
 “ the two countries continues; nevertheless, as I know that
 “ opinion is for the present too hardy, though a very little time
 “ may establish it universally, I have not made it a part of the
 “ resolutions. I have only proposed to set up a reform of
 “ parliament, as a barrier against that mischief, which every
 “ honest man that will open his eyes must see in every instance
 “ overbears the interest of Ireland. I have not said one word
 “ that looks like a wish for separation; though I give it to you

“and your friends, as my most decided opinion, that such an event would be a regeneration to this country.”

The United Society were exceedingly active, and in many instances very successful, in seducing from their allegiance the military and attaching them to their own cause. They occasioned a mutiny in the 104th and 111th regiments quartered in Dublin, and endeavoured to procure their co-operation and assistance in an insurrection, which they meant should take place on the twenty-fourth of August. Many of the soldiers on that day deserted from their regiments, and joined the insurgents ; and a mob who met the castle guard on Essex-bridge, were so confident of being joined by the party, that one of their leaders made an attempt to wrench the colours from the officer who bore them, as a signal for a general insurrection. Another mounted on the bridge, and began in an inflammatory harangue, to exhort the populace to rise and take arms ; but was silenced by a blow from the sword of a dragoon, which inflicted on him a most desperate wound. Another dragoon, however, who was dispatched with intelligence to the lord lieutenant, was seized and beaten, and narrowly escaped meeting with immediate death. This intemperate and premature zeal of the insurgents was attended with consequences highly injurious to their own cause ; for, had they deferred the execution of their plot till night, it is probable that they would have acquired an absolute command of the city.

On the twenty-fifth of March, seventeen hundred and ninety-five, the following paragraph appeared in the Northern Star ; a newspaper apparently conducted by the master of no common pen, and admirably adapted to forward the views of the United Irishmen : at least so far as regarded constitutional reform : “It cannot but be matter of proud exultation to the societies of United Irishmen, that the whole people of Ireland, with exceptions scarcely worth mentioning, are now of those very opinions which they broached three years ago ; and which were then considered by the wise, the constitutional, the moderate, and the cautious, as symptoms, not only of madness, but even of wickedness in the extreme.”

The association, meantime, extended in Dublin and the northern counties, with a rapidity equally astonishing and un-

precedented. The ministerial measure of a war with France, a measure extremely unpopular in the British empire, and undertaken apparently contrary to the dictates of reason, sound policy, and even of right, added greatly to the number of malecontents in both islands, and particularly contributed to the successful acquisition of fresh members to the society. This predisposition to union was increased by the disorderly and rapacious conduct of the soldiers, an evil of great magnitude ; but which had most unwisely been suffered to proceed in a train of growing enormity, without one salutary attempt at restraint. During the march of troops, on change of quarters, they were suffered most unjustly to carry to unreasonable distance the horses of farmers and peasants, which they seized for the conveyance of baggage ; and also to abuse them without mercy, unless considerations in money were given by their owners to procure better treatment. Carts were frequently lost or destroyed, and various other inconveniencies incurred, to the great detriment of tillage. On a halt, the military spread themselves over the adjacent country, seizing every horse with which they met, not to supply their own necessities, but to enforce payment of money for their release. The practice of accommodating soldiers by billeting, was also attended with effects most grievous and distressing.

The militia bill was a further cause of much discontent. That the raising of a defensive army by ballot is an expedient attended by many salutary consequences, and that may in many instances be unavoidable, cannot be denied ; but it is an expedient that ought as seldom as possible to be resorted to ; and when it is, might surely be so ameliorated, as by provisions to make the involuntary soldier feel as lightly as possible the change in his situation. It is a melancholy consideration that many thousands of industrious, well disposed, and highly useful members of the community, thus compelled to enter into a sphere of life in which they are too apt to consider themselves as estranged from the rest of their countrymen, have, by this degrading consideration, by the consequent debasement of every sentiment of dignity, by the state of almost abject slavery to which military men are reduced, and by the pernicious examples of others, been returned to society depraved in their morals, bereft

of all manly principles, habituated to indolence and inclined to debauchery, and ready to perpetrate any crime, however great, rather than endeavour to support themselves by that honest industry in which they had formerly spent their time. This bill enacted that each man ballotted to bear arms should be compelled to enlist for a term not exceeding four years, to find a substitute or to pay a fine. Many, unable to pay premiums for substitutes sustained the seizure and forfeiture of their goods. Others venting their indignation against a measure which they conceived to be most unjust and oppressive, in expressions rather intemperate, were committed to goal; and nearly all joined in execrating what at first view appeared to them to strike at the last root of the personal liberty of the subject.

CHAPTER II.

THE heads of the United Society, not relying wholly on its own strength, had applied to the French government for assistance, and in April seventeen hundred and ninety-six, received a promise to be assisted by an invasion of French troops, in order to subvert the power of Britain, and to procure a political separation of the sister island from her.

The vigilance of the government enabled it to penetrate this plan of internal hostility and external alliance; and the most effectual measures to circumvent it were taken into consideration. As the existing laws were inadequate to put a stop to the evil, new and extraordinary powers were vested in the executive part of the administration. By suspending the Habeas Corpus Act in particular, or in other words by suspending the privileges entailed upon the subject by the constitution, the revolutionists were many of them considerably deranged and intimidated; the civil magistrate being by that means empowered to seize on the persons of suspicious individuals, without assigning any reason why, and to retain them in custody without being obliged to bring them to trial, during an indefinite period. But the most effectual blow levelled at the revolutionists was, the passing of a law termed the Insurrection Act, in the spring of seventeen hundred and ninety-six: it was most immediately intended to arrest the progress of the defenders, who infested the counties of Roscommon, Leitrim, Longford, Meath, and Kilkenny, robbing the peaceable inhabitants during the night of their arms, and frequently of their money and most valuable effects. The lord

lieutenant in council was by means of it authorized to proclaim, on the requisition of seven of its magistrates assembled at a sessions of the peace, any particular county or district in a state of insurrection, which thereby empowered the magistrates to seize, imprison, and send a board his majesty's fleet, any persons who might be found at unlawful assemblies, or acting in any manner whatsoever that might disturb the tranquility of the realm.

In consequence of this law, many districts in the north were proclaimed, and numbers of the poorer disaffected inhabitants conveyed on board the king's ships. A great many in respectable situations of life, being privately informed against as members of the conspiracy, were arrested and committed to prison, where several lay for a considerable time, without being brought to trial. This unhappily gave too many opportunities for the exercise of private revenge.

A trial of strength seemed now to have taken place between the Society of United Irish and the government. Any vigorous measure enforced on the one side was immediately opposed by the one which should serve as an antidote to the other. The lower classes of the association began now to furnish themselves with arms, by assembling, like the defenders, and plundering the houses of all those whom they imagined to be disaffected to their cause. Great parties (amounting sometimes to several thousands) assembled on the most trivial occasions and pretexts, in order to acquire a facility of repairing to places of rendezvous, to encourage their own party, and to discourage their adversaries. Bribery and menaces were employed to retard the execution of the laws. Magistrates who exerted themselves to seize the members of the conspiracy were persecuted without mercy, and sometimes even assassinated. The same measures were adopted against witnesses who appeared against them in court, and jurors who found them guilty.

Notwithstanding a proclamation issued on the sixth of November, seventeen hundred and ninety-six, by the lord lieutenant, strictly commanding all magistrates and loyal subjects to use their best endeavours for the prevention and punishment of all treasonable proceedings, and notwithstanding the military had been previously ordered to assist the civil officers in the

execution of this duty ; yet the United Irish in Ulster would have obtained a general insurrection in the north, had the troops embarked at Brest for the invasion of Ireland effected their debarkation at Bantry bay, on the coast of which they arrived in the end of December. But this armament, stated to have contained fifteen thousand men, was dispersed by a storm, and the attempt rendered abortive. The association in Ulster, also was for the present completely checked by the prompt proceedings of the king's troops ; who collected vast quantities of rebel arms, and by the prudent offer of pardon to all who would surrender within a given time. The inferior societies in general discontinued their meeting. Ulster ceased to be completely represented in the provincial committee, and order was so restored throughout the province, that the execution of the law, by the end of August, was in general restored to the civil power, the longer interference of the military being found unnecessary.

T

CHAPTER III.

WHILE the society of United Irishmen received so severe a check in the northern counties, it was extending with hasty strides its improved system of organization in those of the south ; in order thoroughly to understand the nature of which, it will be necessary to review also its complete civil structure.

This organization of men, associated for the ostensible purpose of procuring a constitutional reform of government, was effected by the following very surprising scheme :—It consisted of an immense number of societies, “linked closely together, “and ascending in gradation, like the component parts of a “pyramid or cone, to a common apex or point of union.” The inferior societies at first consisted of thirty-six, but were afterwards reduced to twelve members ; as nearly as possible of the same neighbourhood. Whenever they exceeded that number, the superabundant members were dismissed, with orders to make fresh proselytes, and to form thereby a new society. Each society chose a secretary and treasurer, and five secretaries formed what was called a lower baronial committee, which had the immediate direction and superintendence of the five societies who contributed to its institution. From each lower baronial committee thus constituted, one member out of the five was delegated to an upper baronial committee, which in like manner assumed and exercised the superintendence and direction of all the lower baronial committees in the several counties. The next superior committees were, in populous towns, distinguished by the name of district committees, and in counties, by the name of

county committees, and were composed of members delegated by the upper baronials. Each upper baronial committee delegated one of its members to the district or county committee, and these district or county committees had the superintendence and direction of all the upper baronials who contributed to their institution.

Having thus organized the several counties and populous towns, a subordinate directory was erected in each of the four provinces, composed of two or three members, according to the extent and population of the district which they represented, who were delegated to a provincial committee, and had the immediate direction and superintendence of the several county and district committees in each of the four provinces; and a general executive directory, composed of five persons only, was elected by the provincial directories, to whom the supreme and uncontrolled command of the whole of this complex machine was committed. The election of these five directors was conducted in a very singular manner. They were balloted from the members of the provincial committees, the secretaries of which alone knew the persons on whom the election devolved, and notified the appointment to no one except to the directors themselves. The manner of communicating the orders issued by this hidden directing power, was peculiarly calculated to baffle all attempts at discovery, being conveyed by not very easily discoverable chains of communication through the whole organized body. One member alone of the executive communicated to the secretary of each provincial committee the mandates of himself and his colleagues; by each secretary the order was transmitted severally to the secretaries of the district and county committees; by the latter to those of the upper baronial committees; from the upper baronial to those of the lower baronial committees; and by them they were communicated to the twelve members of their respective inferior or simple societies.

The military organization of this artfully-constituted union, was engrafted on that of the civil. The secretary of each subordinate society was appointed its noncommissioned officer sergeant or corporal, having a military command over twelve men; the delegate of five simple societies to a lower baronial committee was, for the most part, captain of these five, that is, of a company of sixty men; the delegate of ten lower baroni

committees to an upper or district committee, was generally colonel, or commander of a body of six hundred men, composed of the fifty simple societies under the direction of this upper committee. The colonels of battalions in each county transmitted to the executive directory the names of three persons of the union, one of whom was by them appointed adjutant-general of the county, whose duty it was to receive and communicate military orders from the directory to the colonels of battalions, and in general to act as officer of the revolutionary staff. They were obliged to inform themselves of the state of the rebel regiments within their respective districts, and to report the same to the principals of the union; together with the number of mills, the roads, rivers, bridges, and fords, the military positions, the capacity of the towns and villages to receive troops, to communicate every movement of the enemy (meaning the king's troops;) to announce the first appearance of their allies, the French; and immediately to collect their force. The plan of warlike preparation was completed by the appointment of a military committee, who were to devise the most effectual means of assisting the French, or, in case of an unaided rebellion, to direct the exertion of the national force. The directory issued orders that every person, connected with the association, who could, should furnish himself with fire-arms and ammunition, and if circumstances would not allow that, to provide himself with a pike; and that monthly subscriptions, according to the zeal and ability of the members, should be collected in the societies, in order to form a fund for the expences of the association. The numerous emissaries dispatched throughout the kingdom for the purpose of extending the union, were supported from this fund. These emissaries were instructed to address themselves to, and to rouse, by every possible means, the passions, the prejudices, the hopes, and the fears, of the lower classes with whom they had communion.

The *Northern Star*, and another newspaper, intitled the *Press*—the former published in Belfast, the latter in Dublin—together with the *Union Star*, notwithstanding the greatest precautions taken by the government to circumscribe the publication of inimical literary productions, continued to employ every means in their power to inflame the public discontent

The Union Star which was privately printed, and circulated with the greatest industry, besides being pasted frequently on the walls, that as many as possible might have an opportunity of catching its spirit, was conducted in a manner which the following extract may convey some idea of to our readers:—

“ Let the indignation of man be raised against the impious
 “ wretch who profanely assumes the title of *reigning by the*
 “ *grace of God*, and impudently tells the world *he can do no*
 “ *wrong*—Irishmen! Is granting a patent, and offering premi-
 “ ums to murderers, to depopulate your country, and take your
 “ properties, no wrong? Is taking part of the spoil, no wrong?
 “ Is the foreign despot incapable of wrong, who sharpens the
 “ sword that deprives you of life, and exposes your children to
 “ poverty and all its consequent calamities? O man! *or rather*
 “ *less*, O king! will the smothered groans of my countrymen,
 “ who in thy name fill the innumerable dungeons you have
 “ made, for asserting the rights of man, be considered no wrongs?
 “ Will enlightened Irishmen believe you incapable of wrong,
 “ who offer up the most amiable of mankind daily on the scaf-
 “ fold, or the gibbet, to thy insatiable ambition? Is burning
 “ the villages of what you call your people, and shooting the
 “ trembling sufferers, no wrong? Is taking the church into part-
 “ nership, and encouraging its idle voluptuous drones to despoil
 “ industry of its reward, and teach a lying doctrine to sanction
 “ their injustice, no wrong? Are the continual wars you engen-
 “ der and provoke, to destroy mankind, no wrong? Go, impious
 “ blasphemer, and your hypocritical sorcerers, to the fate, phi-
 “ losophy, justice, and liberty, consign thee. It is inevitable;
 “ thy impositions are detected. Thy kind have been brought
 “ to justice. The first professor of thy trade has recently bled,
 “ for the crimes of the craft: his idle and vile followers, who
 “ escaped the national axe, are walking memorials of justice,
 “ begging a miserable livelihood over those countries, whose
 “ tottering thrones encourage but an uncertain asylum. Ere
 “ the grave, which is opening for thy despised person embosoms
 “ thee, make one atonement for the vices of thy predecessors;
 “ resist not the claims of a people reduced to every misery; in
 “ thy name give back the properties that thy nation wrested
 “ from a suffering people; and let the descendants of those

“ English ruffians restore to Irishmen their country, and to their country, liberty: 'tis rather late to trifle ; one fortunate breeze may do it ; and then, woe to him who was a tyrant, or who is unjust ! ”

Of the Press, which was interdicted under a new act of parliament, the following may serve as a specimen ;—

“ The rule of right is a rule that in morals should never vary ; but in these kingdoms to preach up *royalism* is the best rule ; and the wisdom of government protects those who embrace this right side of the question, while it punishes with equal rectitude those who maintain that a *republic* is the only right form of government :—Let us apply this rule to the continent. France is not a nation of fools ; and some among them have as much sense (God forgive them) as *****,—but no matter. The fools of France tell you that monarchy is a coat of arms, whose supporters are the church and the aristocracy—its crest, the bloody hand—and its motto, *Odi profanum vulgus* ; but that democracy, not possessing these rampant wits is the ægis of wisdom, whose *right rule* should govern the world. Now these are *two rules of right*, both pronounced to be the very best for the government of man, and each declared superior to the other in excellence ; yet a man shall be punished alternately for observing this or that, according to the air which he breathes.”

The suppression of these papers towards the end of seventeen hundred and ninety-seven having deprived the heads of the Union of so valuable a channel of communication, at a time when the peasantry in the middle and southern counties were generally preparing for insurrection, hand-bills were substituted as the means of conveying intelligence. By these and by verbal messages, instructions were conveyed through the whole body of the association to abstain totally from the use of spirituous liquors. In one of them, after hinting at a speedy insurrection is the following :—

“ In the preparative interim let sobriety be national and unchangeable ; by abstaining totally from the use of *spirituous liquors* you will destroy the excise, which is the only branch of revenue remaining, whence is produced the *principal strength of government* ; you will prevent the distillation of

"grain, which consumes near *double the quantity* that is otherwise used for the necessities of life; you will consequently make bread one-third cheaper, benefit the community, and embarrass your enemies."

This order was obeyed to a degree no less surprising than unexpected. From habits of drunkenness and debauchery, the people suddenly became perfectly sober and cautious of tasting drink; a strong proof of the sincerity of their attachment to their cause. Another order, communicated by hand-bills, instructed them to refrain from the purchase of the quit-rents of the crown; by which they hoped to embarrass government and prevent the raising of supplies:—

"Whereas it has been proposed by the *chancellor of the exchequer* to sell the *quit rents* of the crown, in order to raise new supplies for the prosecution of this unjust, unnecessary, and ruinous war: now we, the United Irishmen, impelled by a sense of public duty, and sincere regard to the rights of property, think fit to give you this public caution, that no such fraudulent transaction, consuming by anticipation the resources and future revenues of the nation, will be sufficient to stand good in the event of a revolution and a free legislature; a fair and solid bargain must have the sanction of due authority: but this, as well as every other loan or contract, now in agitation, is in itself invalidated by the nefariousness of its object, and the incompetency of the present parliament to bind the nation by any act whatsoever, as it is notorious to the whole world that it was named by the crown under *the terrors of martial law*; that there exists in it no freedom of action—but that it is the bought base instrument of supporting an exterminating government and foreign dominion. *After this, let the dupes blame themselves.*"

The attempts of the heads of the Union to prevent the circulation of bank-notes, however, proved unsuccessful. Bank-notes being legal payment, the refusal to take them as such, cancelled the debt: such as declined parting with their goods for them were liable to be heavily burdened by the quartering of soldiers in their houses.

"Those appointed by you to superintend your interests, have from time to time sent you such advice or information as they

“ were enabled, from reflection or inquiry, to offer for your advantage and the general good. Still actuated by the same principle of zeal and fidelity, they deem it their duty to caution you against the immense quantity of bank-notes, which government is fabricating without bounds. We need not tell you that the value of any bank-note rests upon the credit of him who issues it. And in our opinion the issuer of this paper is a bankrupt who, in all likelihood, must shortly shut up and run away. The present convenience of circulation will be but poor amends for the subsequent beggary and ruin it will bring on the holders; for you know that it will be waste-paper, and must stop some where, as soon as there is a *burst*, and that the possessor (*God help him*) will be robbed of so much property as he has taken it for.”

To these were added solicitations and exhortations to the army to revolt from their allegiance. Attempts of this kind had been made so early as the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two, but had been generally abortive. One of them, dated the twenty-seventh of March, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, and signed *shamroc*, runs as follows:—

“ My countrymen, what can you say when you hear of scenes of blood acting on the spot where your native hamlets once stood, but now no more: their owners, your friends, either sent to seek repose in the grave by the hands of these villainous Orange murderers, or immured in the damp and dreary dungeons of the bastiles of this country: pining in chill despondency, waiting for a trial seldom obtained, and when obtained, acquitted, after years of dreary solitary confinement!! Some hurried on board prison-ships—some actually transported to the settlements on the coast of Africa—others sent to serve in the West Indies, certain victims to the climate, or left to rot, chained in the hold of a filthy coasting vessel! Your wives despoiled to gratify the insatiable lust of these ravishers!—And these scenes, my countrymen, suffered to go unpunished by those in power, whom you protect; to whose frowns your array adds terror; to whom you give your support: for unless you please, they vanish; without your protection these despots fall—these desolators, that each day refine on such bloody deeds, would perish, and your country be free.

“ My brave countrymen ! do not let the world call us dastards :
 “ no, let us shew the world we are men, and, above all, that we
 “ are Irishmen. Let every man among you feel the injuries
 “ your country, yourselves, have suffered ; the insults you have
 “ received, the stripes that have been dealt with an unmerciful
 “ hand on those brave comrades who dared to think and feel
 “ for their country—If you do, the glorious work will be com-
 “ plete, and in the union of the citizen and his brave fellow-
 “ soldier, the world (hitherto taught to look down upon us with
 “ contempt) will see that we can emancipate our country ; we
 “ will convince surrounding nations that Irish soldiers have
 “ avowed and adopted a maxim they will maintain, or perish—
 “ namely, *that every man should be a soldier in defence of his*
 “ *liberty, but none to take away the liberty of others.*”

U

CHAPTER IV.

SINCE the failure of the French expedition to Bantry, which we have already mentioned, the directory had continued to keep up the spirits of their party with assurances of speedy assistance from the same power. To expedite the departure of this second armament, Mr. Lewins, a confidential agent of the Union, was dispatched to Paris with the most pressing solicitations. Leaving London in March, seventeen hundred and ninety-seven, he passed through Hamburg, and arrived about the end of May in Paris, where he remained as ambassador from the Irish Republic to the French Directory. In the summer of the same year, alarmed lest a premature insurrection in the north, before the arrival of the troops from France, should be forced by the vigorous conduct of government in Ulster, they sent Doctor William James M'Nevin, an active member and secretary of the ruling power, in June, with orders to press forward the French preparations with redoubled ardour. The difficulty of procuring a passport at Hamburg, induced this gentleman to deliver a memorial to an agent of the French republic whom he met there, and by whom it was forwarded to the directory at Paris, where he himself, having been permitted to continue his journey, afterwards delivered a second. In the former of these memorials, the firm resolutions of the Irish revolutionists, and their great anxiety lest the measures of government should disconcert their projects were conspicuous. In it were also made a statement of the situation of the United Irish and of the condition of the kingdom at large, for the reception.

of their allies; a promise of reimbursing the French republic for the expence she might incur, not only in fitting out the armament now demanded, but also what she had incurred for the former which miscarried; and a demand of a body of troops not exceeding ten thousand men, nor falling short of five thousand, together with forty thousand stand of arms, and a proportionate supply of artillery, ammunition, engineers, and experienced officers, for the use and instruction of the insurgents. The second memorial endeavoured to prevail on the French not to delay in sending off these succors, when the minds of the Irish were so favourably disposed towards them. The agent was also authorized to negotiate a loan of half a million, or at least three hundred thousand pounds, with France or Spain, in which, however, he failed. The assistance of a military force was nevertheless conceded.

Though the Irish were so solicitous to obtain a supply of well disciplined troops and experienced officers, yet they were justly afraid of introducing too great a body of foreign troops into the kingdom, who might at a future period contribute to impose on them a yoke still heavier than that which they intended to remove. But the French, on the other hand, wished to send so great an army as might not only insure the success of the enterprise, but as might enable them to retain possession of Ireland as a conquest. They insisted, at any rate, on sending fifteen thousand men, who were accordingly embarked on board a Dutch fleet at the Texel, under the command of general Daendels.

On the receipt of this intelligence by the Irish, great preparations were made for their reception; and it was announced to the different societies that the fleet was on the point of sailing. Notwithstanding the troops on board this fleet had been disembarked, from fear of the British navy, which was then superior in strength; yet they were again forced, at the instance of the French directory, to put to sea, contrary to the judgment of the Dutch admiral, which led to the decisive victory of the gallant admiral Duncan, a Scotsman, off Camperdown, with a squadron of British ships under his command. The expence of these armaments was to have been defrayed by ecclesiastical and other lands, designed for confiscation by the revolutionists.

Even after this second disappointment of foreign succours, the heads of the conspiracy sedulously encouraged hopes of fresh assistance; and they in fact received a promise from France that in April an invasion should take place in their favour: but notwithstanding the rebellion broke out in the May following, the French government failed in fulfilling this promise.

In the month of February, seventeen hundred and ninety-eight, instructions were issued by the military committee to the adjutant-generals, directing them to hold themselves in readiness for open warfare against government, and to the several regiments concerning their arms and appointments. To extend the organization, to increase the quantity of military stores, and to consolidate more and more the strength of the conspiracy, continued to be the principal care of its heads till the arrival of their allies should take place; and the system of terror which had been practised in the north, was adopted in the south. Arms were plundered during the night, individuals were sometimes assassinated, and outrage of every description put in practice.

Meantime government was labouring to disorganize the whole system; and to destroy the strength of the conspiracy before the arrival of their expected allies. For this end, some districts in the northern and midland counties were accordingly proclaimed; many persons suspected of treasonable designs were imprisoned; and other acts of power enforced to throw them into confusion. But the most severe wound inflicted on the union was the arrest of the thirteen members composing the provincial committee of Leinster, with other principals of the conspiracy, at the house of Oliver Bond, Bridge-street, Dublin, on the twelfth of March. This arrest was grounded on the information of Thos. Reynolds, a Roman catholic gentleman of a place called Kilkea Castle in the county of Kildare, colonel of an United Irish regiment, rebel treasurer for the county in which he resided, and provincial delegate for Leinster, who, deserting what he must have considered the cause of his country, had continued for some time to disclose, for the use of government, all he knew of the conspiracy. Intelligence being thus given that the Leinster delegates, thirteen in number, were to meet at Mr. Bond's on the twelfth of March, justice

REBELLION IN IRELAND.

Swan, attended by twelve sergeants in coloured clothes, rode to the spot whilst they were sitting in council, and seized their persons and papers. In this arrest were included the most able and intrepid leaders of revolt: Thomas Addis Emery, a barrister of great talents, William James McNevin, Messrs Bond, Sweetman, Henry Jackson, and Hugh Jackson.

PAPERS FOUND AT MR. BOND'S, 12TH MARCH.

Found upon John Lynch: hand writing of William Mitchell Byrne.

"THE county W——w. C—— inform their constituents by the advice they have received from the provincial, that the very flattering accounts have been received from a committee which will in a very few days be officially handed down. The provincial returns of men have only increased a few thousands since the last reports; as the new county members have now come in, in consequence of the new elections, which each county will take notice must be on or before the fifteenth of January next.

"The county committee again earnestly recommend to their constituents, to pay no attention to any flying reports, and to know to a certainty, that false emissaries are encouraged to disseminate such news as may tend to disunite or lead astray.

"The C. C. hear with regret the dissatisfaction of the baronial committee of Newcastle, with respect to their not being yet fully supplied with arms, &c. They assure them that the exertion has been used to that purpose, and that quantities of pikes are now ready manufactured for delivery; but at the same time would recommend to have as many made as possible for each barony, as they will thereby come infinitely cheaper.

"The county committee cannot be accountable for any money in the hands of a baronial treasurer; and of course cannot count for any, but such as has been paid into them, of which there appears a correct statement in the returns.

"They feel with concern the apathy of their fellow-

of the co. W. who refuse so small a pittance as *one penny* per man, to alleviate, in some degree, the distresses of their suffering brethren now in W. gaol, where there are many innocent citizens in want of the common necessities of life; but who, though famishing, scorn to betray the *trust* reposed in them.

“The county committee inform their constituents, that so far from having a fund in hands, they are now indebted to one of their members (No. 2.) who has kindly advanced 18*l.* 4*s.* 2*d.* for the relief of prisoners; the county members are therefore intreated to forward to *him*, without delay, as much money as can be collected in their respective baronies; as there appears to be now in goal, from Arklow barony *four*, from Shillelah *five*, from Ballinacoor *fourteen*, and *one* from Talbottstown *fifteen*, and from Newcastle *two*, in all *forty-two*, without the smallest fund for the ensuing month.

“Resolved, that a subscription be instantly commenced, for the purpose of forming a fund for the employing and retaining counsel; which shall be taken as a voluntary contribution, according to the circumstances of individuals, to be lodged in the hands of a *treasurer* chosen by the county committee.

“Resolved, that it is requested that the next meeting may be *fully attended*, as there is business of the utmost importance to be taken into consideration.

" C. C. Jany. 22, 1798.

Pd. prisoners.

[illegible]

	G.	P.	S.	B.	Ps.	B. C.	B. lb.	P.
Tal.	181	78	66	134	321	3331	8315	75
Ar.	265	85	68	87	200	400	8050	500
N. C.	158	41	20	32	355	—	5965	169
R. D.	185	94	62	75	380	980	500	17
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	789	298	216	328	1256	4711	22830	761
Ar.	210	75	62	} At				
N. C.	100	0	0					
R. D.	200	0	0					

No. I.

Hand-writing of John M^r Can,

" I do solemnly declare, that I came duly elected.

No. II.

Hand-writing of John M^r Can.

19th February, 1798.

Kildare	-	-	10863	In Treasurer's hands	20	18	3
Wicklow	-	-	12095				
Dublin	-	-	3010		20	-	-
Do. City	-	-	2000				
Queen's co.	-	-	11689				
			<u>39657</u>		<u>40</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>3</u>

Brought over	39657	-	-	-	-	-	40	18	3
King's co.	-	3600							
Carlow	-	-	9414						
Kilkenny	-	-	624						
Meath	-	-	14000						
			67295				40	18	3

" Resolved, that the colonels in each county shall make out a list of three persons to be adjutants-general for said counties. The lists to be transmitted, sealed, either through the provincial, or any other authentic channel, to the executive, who will nominate one of the three to the employment.

" Resolved, that our treasurer be allowed to pay 16 guineas to the delegate to buy a horse, which, when the entire county is organized, is to be sold, and the money paid back into the hands of the treasurer.

" Resolved, that the ex. committee be requested to account for the expenditure of 60 guineas voted them.

" Resolved, that each county who have not paid in any finance, shall be requested to pay in 70% immediately, except the county Carlow, which shall only pay 40%.

PRIVATES TEST.

Hand-writing not known.

" I, A. B. do solemnly declare, that I will perform my duty, and be obedient to all the lawful commands of my officers, while they act in subordination to the duly-elected committee.

Hand-writing of John M'Can.

" Resolved, that we will pay no attention whatsoever to any attempt that may be made by either house of parliament, to divert the public mind from the grand object we have in view, as nothing short of the complete emancipation of our country will satisfy us.

No. III.

K.	-	-	10863	In hands	-	20	18	3
W.	-	-	12095					
D.	-	-	3010	£32		20	—	—
C. D.	-	-	2000					
Q. C.	-	-	11689					
K. C.	-	-	3600					
Cw.	-	-	9414					
Ky.	-	-	624					
M.	-	-	14000					
			<hr/>			<hr/>		
			67295			40	18	3

*Extracts from the pocket-book of John M'Can, found at
Mr. Bond's.*

P. C. [Provincial Committee.]

20th February, 1798.

Kildare	-	10863	
Wicklow	-	12895	£20 18 3
Dublin	-	3010	20
Do. city	-	2177	104 6 5
Queen's co.	-	11689	
King's co.	-	3600	
Carlow	-	9414	
Kilkenny	-	624	
Meath	-	14000	
		<hr/>	
		68272	£145 4 8

Subscriptions:—

Feby. 9th, 1798.

Feby. 16th.

Feby. 23.

No. s s

1	1	1
2	1	1
3	2	8½
4	1	1
5		
6		
7	1	1
8		
9	2	8½
10	1	1
11		
12		

6½
6½
6½
6½
6½
6½
6½
6½

6½
6½
6½
1 1
6½
6½

2	8½	2	2
		6	6

6½ & 2	8½
3	9½

£1 0 7

1 7 1

15 8

C. C. [County committee.]

February 19th, 1798.

1	812	28	8	11	} [Four divisions of the city of Dublin.]
2	865	19	15		
3	500	9	13	6	
4		46	9		
<hr/>					
	2177	£104	6	5	

D. C. 2d March.

					In hands	£1, 16	0½
No. 1	118	4	11				6½
2	118	3	19	7½			6½
3	84	12					
4	72						6½
5	120	2				4	4
6	99	1	15			3	3
7	53						
8							6½
9		1	12	10½			
10	80	1	6	9			6½
11	70	1				4	4
12	115	1	11	9		1	1
13						1	7½
14						2	8½
							<hr/>
						£2 16	4

D. C. 8th March, 98. B. C. [Baronial committee.]

5th March, 1798.

No. 1	118	4	3	6½	12	£2 17	5
2	118	4	3	3	12		
3	48	1	0	6	12		
4	72				12		
5	120				12		13
6	105	1	15	2	10		
7	107		14		12		
8	89		12				
9	86	3	8	3			
10	118	2	4	9	8		15
11	102	1	13				
12	115	2	11	6			
13	86	1	7	8			
14	84	3	7	8			

Extract of a letter found upon Oliver Bond, signed H. W. [Hugh Wilson,] dated Cork, 6th, 1798.

"I have been so cooped up since I came here, that had I known the situation of the place, my mind should never have been so abominably closeted, for any emolument that I may derive before a change in the present government takes place.

"You can but faintly imagine how things are going on here: give the people but a little time, and rest assured the progress science is making will astonish the world. The enemies of the human race are much alarmed, and the revolt of the Dublin county militia has increased their fears. Mr. Finlay says, they are all assassins, and he is almost afraid to trust himself with them. I hear they are to be dispersed among the Highlanders through the country. Numbers of preachers of the true Gospel are better than few, and those dispersed grains may not fall upon rocky ground.

"When the news came this morning of the Spanish fleet being out, the aristocrats seemed happy, saying, their doom was at hand, Jervis being after them.

"With best regards to Mrs. Bond, and all friends,

I am sincerely yours,

H. W."

The seizure of these papers betrayed so much of the plot to government, and the loss of some of their best leaders, threw the society into such consternation, that although the vacancies thus made in the directory and other committees were instantly filled up, (but by men of very inferior abilities) an immediate rising was judged necessary to prevent the total overthrow of the system. To prevent as much as possible the fatal effects of the despondency into which the members were thrown, a hand-bill, dated St. Patrick's day, March 17, was in the mean time circulated, of which we shall give the following extract:—

"For us, the keen but momentary anxiety, occasioned by the situation of our invaluable friends, subsided, on learning all the circumstances of the case, into a calm tranquility, a consoling conviction of mind, that they are as safe as inno-

cence can make them now; and to these sentiments were quickly added a redoubled energy, a tenfold activity of exertion, which has already produced the happiest effects. *The organization of the capital is perfect!* No vacancies existing, arrangements have been made, and are still making, to secure for our oppressed brethren, whose trials approach, the benefit of legal defence; and the sentinels whom you have appointed to watch over your interests stand firm at their posts, vigilant of events, and prompt to give you notice and advice, which, on every occasion at all requiring it, rely on receiving.—This recital, Irishmen, is meant to guard those of you who are remote from the scene of the late events, against the consequences of misrepresentation and mistake. The most unfounded rumours have been set afloat, fabricated for the double purpose of delusion and intimidation. Your enemies *talk* of treachery, in the vain and fallacious hope of *creating* it; but you, who scorn equally to be their dupes or their slaves, will meet their forgeries with dignified contempt, incapable of being either goaded into untimely violence, or sunk into pusillanimous despondency. Be firm, Irishmen—but be cool and cautious; be patient yet a-while; trust to no unauthorised communications; and above all, we warn you—again and again we warn you—against doing the work of your tyrants, by premature, by partial, or divided exertion. If Ireland shall be forced to throw away the scabbard, let it be at her own time, not at theirs.”

Meantime the military committee had digested a plan of insurrection which was to take place on the twenty-third of May. It was intended to seize Dublin, the camp at Laughlinstown, and the station of artillery at Chapelizod, on that night; in which the United in the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare were to act; and the rebellion being thus commenced in the metropolis and its vicinity, the north and south were to rise immediately on the detention of the mail coaches. Government, however, were exceedingly active in precautionary steps:—On the twenty-eighth of February, Arthur O'Connor, James Quigley, John Binns, and two others, were arrested at Margate, while preparing to depart for France in order to hasten the intended invasion. Great quantities of pikes were

every night discovered and seized by the activity of the magistrates in the metropolis. The lord lieutenant, on the thirtieth of March, issued a proclamation, commanding his majesty's military officers to employ the forces with the utmost vigour and decision. The inhabitants of Dublin were required to give in lists of all strangers who resided in their houses, many of the disaffected having fled thither from all parts of the kingdom, to secrete themselves from the arm of justice. On the tenth and eleventh of May, justice Swan, town-major Sirr, and Captain Ryan, seized five hundred pike handles and five pieces of cannon; and on the twelfth, Swan seized a large quantity of arms in a house on the custom-house quay. On the thirteenth and fourteenth, four pieces of cannon and a swivel were taken; and on the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth, immense quantities of arms of various descriptions, but chiefly pikes.

Lord Edward Fitzgerald having absconded since the twelfth of March, and government having received undoubted intelligence that he was principal leader of the conspiracy, very just apprehensions were entertained, that wherever he might be, he was labouring with assiduity to forward the views of the conspiracy. Lord Edward had served during part of the American war in his majesty's forces, and was distinguished by his daring and intrepid courage, honour, humanity, candour, soldier-like deportment, and above all, by his superior knowledge of military affairs. At the conclusion of the war he retired on the half-pay list, but again entering into the service, he was promoted to the majority of the fifty-fourth regiment. On the return of his regiment to England, his lordship proceeded to Paris, in the beginning of the year seventeen hundred and ninety-two, where he imbibed principles of a highly republican cast, the too open and candid avowal of which induced the ministry to dismiss him from the service; as a man unworthy of the trust reposed in him. During his residence in France, his lordship married a lady of the royal blood of the Capets, daughter of the last duke of Orleans, who contributed to inspire him with revolutionary ideas. As lord Edward was eminently qualified for the excitement and direction of rebellious commotions, government on the eleventh of May had issued a proclamation, offering one thousand pounds for his apprehen-

sion; and in consequence received intelligence on the eighteenth that he would that night pass through Watling-street, preceded by a chosen band of insurgents as an advanced guard, and that he would be accompanied by another. Major Sirr accordingly repaired to Watling-street, attended by captain Ryan and Mr. Emerson, together with a body of soldiers in coloured clothes; and having met the party preceding lord Edward, attacked and put them to flight, taking one of their body prisoner. Next day Sirr, captain Ryan, and justice Swan, with eight soldiers disguised, proceeded to the house of a Mr. Murphy, merchant, in Thomas-street, where they were informed his lordship himself was concealed. While they were disposing the soldiers so as to prevent an escape, Swan perceiving a woman run hastily up stairs, followed her with precipitation, and rushing into an apartment, found lord Edward reclining upon a bed; whom he instantly informed that he had a warrant against him, and that it would be vain to make resistance, but at the same time assured him he would be treated with the utmost respect. His lordship, however, so far from surrendering, instantly sprung from the bed, and endeavoured to force his escape with a courage deserving of a better fate. His pistol having missed fire at Mr. Swan, the only weapon left him was a dagger, with which he closed with his adversary, and inflicted on him many wounds, particularly a deep and dangerous one under the ribs, which bled profusely. At that instant captain Ryan entered; and having missed fire at Lord Edward with a pocket pistol, made a lunge at him with a sword cane, which bent on his ribs. The pain of the slight wound, however, was such as to make him fall on the bed, where captain Ryan threw himself above him; and during the scuffle that ensued, the captain received a plunge of his lordship's dagger in the side; after which they both fell to the ground, where Ryan received many desperate wounds, especially one in the lower part of his belly, so large that his bowels fell out on the floor. Notwithstanding this deplorable situation to which these two gentlemen were reduced, they continued to hold his lordship by the legs; and to impede his progress towards the door, whither he was advancing, when Sirr entered the room; to whom he surrendered himself, after re-

ceiving a mortal wound in the shoulder from the major's pistol ; of which he expired in great agony on the third of June.

Several papers found in lord Edward's possession at the time of his arrest, betrayed the nature and extent of the intended insurrection ; and contained a plan for the capture of Dublin. In his lodgings at Mr. Murphy's were also found a green uniform, turned up with black, and a curious cap of the same materials, in which he meant to have been drest when he headed the insurrection ; together with the official seal* of the Irish union.

One of these papers, found in lord Edward's writing box, the plan for defeating the king's troops at the intended attack of the insurgents upon Dublin, contains observations so judicious, and appears so well adapted to answer the purpose for which it was intended, that we have given it to our readers entire.

COPY OF A PAPER FOUND IN THE WRITING-BOX OF LORD
EDWARD FITZGERALD.

“ If ever any unfortunate cause should put our city, with the other parts of the country, into the possession of a cruel and tyrannical enemy, whose government, by repeated oppressions, might drive us into the last stage of desperate resistance, our conduct then should be regulated in a manner best calculated for obtaining victory.

*The following thoughts are humbly offered for the inspection of
every real Irishman.*

“ It is supposed that the enemy have a well-appointed and disciplined standing army.—

“ In such a case, every man ought to consider how that army could be attacked or repelled, and what advantage their

* We have not been able to procure a description of this seal. The following is that of the secretaries of the united society of Dublin :—A harp ; at the top, “ *I am now strung ;*” at the bottom, “ *I will be heard ;*” and on the exergue, “ *Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.*”

discipline and numbers might give them in a populous city, acting in concert with the adjoining counties.

“ It is well known, that an officer of any skill in his profession, would be very cautious of bringing the best-disciplined troops into a large city in a state of insurrection, for the following reasons :—

“ His troops, by the breadth of the streets, are obliged to have a very narrow front ; and however numerous, only three men deep can come into action, which in the widest of our streets, cannot be more than sixty men, as a space must be left on each side or flank for the men who discharge to retreat to the rear, that their places may be occupied by the next in succession who are loaded ; so, though there are a thousand men in a street, not more than sixty can act at one time ; and should they be attacked by an irregular body armed with pikes, or such bold weapons, if the sixty men in front were defeated, the whole body, however numerous, are unable to assist, and immediately become a small mob in uniform, from the inferiority of number in comparison to the people, and easily disposed of.

“ Another inconvenience might destroy the order of this army. Perhaps at the same moment, they may be dreadfully galled from the house tops, by showers of bricks, coping-stones, &c. which may be at hand ; without imitating the women of Paris, who carried the stones of the unpaved streets to the windows and tops of the houses in their aprons.

“ Another disadvantage on the part of the soldiers would be, as they are regulated by the word of command, or stroke of the drum, they must be left to their individual discretion, as such communications must be drowned in the noise and clamour of a popular tumult.

“ In the next place, that part of the populace who could not get into the engagement, would be employed in unpaving the streets, so as to impede the movements of horse or artillery ; and in the avenues where the army were likely to pass, numbers would be engaged in forming barriers of hogsheads, carts, cars, counters, doors, &c. the forcing of which barriers by the army would be disputed, while like ones were forming at every twenty or thirty yards, or any convenient distances situation might require. Should such precautions be well observed, the progress

of an army through one street, or over one bridge, would be very tedious, and attended with great loss, if it would not be destroyed; at the same time the neighbouring counties might rise in a mass, and dispose of the troops scattered in their vicinity, and prevent a junction or a passage of any army intended for the city; they would tear up the roads and barricade every convenient distance with trees, timber, implements of husbandry, &c. at the same time lining the hedges, walls, ditches, and houses, with men armed with muskets, who would keep up a well-directed fire.

“However well exercised standing armies are supposed to be, by frequent reviews and sham battles, they are never prepared for broken roads, or enclosed fields, in a country like ours, covered with innumerable and continued intersections of ditches and hedges, every one of which are an advantage to an irregular body, and may with advantage be disputed against an army, as so many fortifications and entrenchments.

“The people in the city would have an advantage, by being armed with pikes or such weapons; the first attack, if possible, should be made by men whose pikes were nine or ten feet long, by that means they could act in ranks deeper than the soldiery, whose arms are much shorter; then, the deep files of the pikemen, by being weightier, must easily break the thin order of the army.

“The charge of the pikemen should be made in a smart trot, on the flank or extremity of every rank; there should be intrepid men placed to keep the fronts even, that at closing every point should tell together; they should have at the same time, two or three like bodies at convenient distances in the rear, who would be brought up, if wanting, to support the front, which would give confidence to their brothers in action, as it would tend to discourage the enemy; at the same time, there should be in the rear of each division some men of spirit, to keep the ranks as close as possible.

“The apparent strength of the army should not intimidate, as closing on it makes its powder and ball useless; all its superiority is in fighting at a distance; all its skill ceases, and all its action must be suspended, when it once is within reach of the pike.

"The reason of writing and printing this is, to remind the people of discussing military subjects."

Three papers found in the possession of Lord Edward Fitzgerald, when arrested.

No. I.

" T. Keathy, Enverness fencibles	50	with 1 Battn. of
Salt, Londonderry - - - -	47	1
Naas, Armagh - - - -	250	} 1
Green horse - - - -	22	
Connel - - - - -	-	1
Clane, Armagh - - - -	50	1
Narragh Rabn. Ks. county M.		
{ Longford		
{ 6th dragoons	- 500	- 2
{ Louth M.		
Kilkea, Do. Do. Do.	500	- 1
Kilculen, { 9th dragoons	- 80	} 0
{ Tyrone M.	- 30	
{ Suffolk	- 50	
{ Orange Yeo.	- 90	
Carbery, Inverness fencibles	- 50	- 0
Ophilia sundra. - - - -	600	- 2
County sundry returns	2319 with	10 bats. of
	1500	
	3819	

No. II.

- 50 chains of 6 foot long, with 50 padlocks.
- 1000 spike nails, 4, 6, 8 inches.
- 200 round staples.
- 20 cramp irons, in this form.
- 50 large sledges.

50 small ones.
 50 hammers.
 50 groove irons.
 100 hatchets.
 300 shovels and spades, or as many as can be procured.
 150 hooks for scaling ladders, the catching point to have a hackle face.

No. III.

“ Suppose R. force divided into three columns. The left of the Kildare line to assemble at Clonclurry, or between it and Clonard-bridge; a detachment to be sent to Clonard-bridge as soon as possible; that body to advance by Kilcock, Maynooth, Leixlip, and Chapelizod, towards Dublin.”

On the nineteenth and twenty-first of May several other persons were arrested; among whom were Henry and John Sheares, lawyers of great abilities and eminence. These brothers are, with every appearance of reason, supposed to have been raised to the fatal dignity of directors. They were betrayed by captain Armstrong, of the King's County militia, who had procured an introduction to them, and who, passing with them for an United Irishman, regularly conveyed to the lord lieutenant such information as he could procure. In the house of Henry Sheares, at the time of his arrest, was found, in the handwriting of John, the following manifesto, intended to have been published after the city should have been taken; and which breathes a sanguinary spirit, certainly not the real disposition of these gentlemen, but which may have been consistent with their ideas of good policy, to strike a terror into those loyalists who might be disposed to oppose them:—

“ Irishmen, your country is free, and you are about to be avenged. That vile government, which has so long and so cruelly oppressed you, is no more. Some of its most atrocious monsters have already paid the forfeit of their lives, and the rest are in our hands. The national flag, the *sacred green*, is at this moment flying over the ruins of despotism; and that capital, which a few hours past had witnessed the debauchery, the plots, and the crimes of your tyrants, is now

“ the citadel of triumphant patriotism and virtue. Arise then,
 “ united sons of Ireland, arise like a great and powerful people,
 “ determined to live free or die. Arm yourselves by every
 “ means in your power, and rush like lions on your foes. Con-
 “ sider, that for every enemy you disarm, you arm a friend, and
 “ thus become doubly powerful. In the cause of liberty, inac-
 “ tion is cowardice; and the coward shall forfeit the property
 “ he has not the courage to protect. Let his arms be secured,
 “ and transferred to those gallant spirits who want and will use
 “ them. Yes, Irishmen, we swear by that Eternal Justice, in
 “ whose cause you fight, that the brave patriot who survives
 “ the present glorious struggle, and the family of him who has
 “ fallen, or hereafter shall fall in it, shall receive from the hands
 “ of a grateful nation an ample recompence out of that property
 “ which the crimes of our enemies have forfeited into its hands,
 “ and his name shall be inscribed on the great national record
 “ of Irish revolution, as a glorious example to all posterity; but
 “ we likewise swear to punish robbery with death and infamy.
 “ We also swear that we will never sheath the sword till every
 “ being in the country is restored to those equal rights which
 “ the God of nature has given to all men; until an order of
 “ things shall be established in which no superiority shall be
 “ acknowledged among the citizens of Erin but that of virtue
 “ and talent. As for those degenerate wretches who turn their
 “ sword against their native country, the national vengeance
 “ awaits them. Let them find no quarter, unless they shall
 “ prove their repentance by speedily exchanging the standard
 “ of slavery for that of freedom, under which their former
 “ errors may be buried, and they may share the glory and ad-
 “ vantages that are due to the patriot bands of Ireland. Many
 “ of the military feel the love of liberty glow within their
 “ breasts, and have joined the national standard. Receive with
 “ open arms such as shall follow so glorious an example—they
 “ can render signal service to the cause of freedom, and shall
 “ be rewarded according to their deserts. But for the wretch
 “ who turns his sword against his native country, let the nation-
 “ al vengeance be visited upon him; let him find no quarter.
 “ Two other crimes demand ***** Rouse all the ener-
 “ gies of our souls; call forth all the merit and abilities which a

“vicious government consigned to obscurity; and under the
 “conduct of your chosen leaders, march with a steady step to
 “victory. Heed not the glare of hired soldiery or aristocratic
 “yeomanry: they cannot withstand the vigorous shock of free-
 “dom. Their trappings and their arms will soon be yours;
 “and the detested government of England, to which we vow
 “eternal hatred, shall learn, that the treasures it exhausts on its
 “accoutered slaves, for the purpose of butchering Irishmen,
 “shall but further enable us to turn their swords on its devoted
 “head. Attack them in every direction by day and by night:
 “avail yourselves of the natural advantages of your country,
 “which are innumerable, and with which you are better ac-
 “quainted than they. Where you cannot oppose them in full
 “force, constantly harrass their rear and their flanks: cut off
 “their provisions and magazines, and prevent them as much as
 “possible from uniting their forces: let whatever moments you
 “cannot devote to fighting for your country, be passed in learn-
 “ing how to fight for it, or preparing the means of war—for
 “war, war alone must occupy every mind and every hand in
 “Ireland, until its long oppressed soil be purged of all its ene-
 “mies. Vengeance! Irishmen—vengeance on your oppressors.
 “Remember what thousands of your dearest friends have
 “perished by their merciless orders.—Remember their burn-
 “ings, their rackings, their torturings, their military massacres,
 “and their legal murders—Remember Orr!”*

The person (William Orr) whom the Irish are in the forego-
 ing address emphatically called on to remember, had been of
 staunch revolutionary principles, and possessed of considerable
 abilities. He was a man of respectable character and connec-
 tions. Being found guilty of high treason, he was, to the un-
 speakable grief of his party, executed at Carrickfergus.

* Appendix to the report of the secret committee of the House
 of Commons, No. 20.

CHAPTER V.

BY these arrests, however, and other precautionary steps of the government, the insurrection in Dublin, which was to commence on the twenty-third of May, by an attack on the army encamped at Lauchlinstown, and on the artillery stationed at Chapelizod, was frustrated. Notwithstanding this, and the disorganization of the confederacy which ensued by the judicious arrangements of the troops in the most advantageous positions about the capital, the appointment for insurrection was observed by many in the neighbouring counties; and the mail coaches on the northern, southern, and western roads, destroyed, as a signal to the rest of the kingdom. The western coach was interrupted between Lucan and Leixlip; the northern at Santry, only three miles distant from the metropolis; and the southern near Naas, which is fifteen miles distant. Great multitudes of insurgents assembled, and proceeded immediately to efforts of strength, particularly in attacking the towns of Prosperous, Naas, Claine, Ballymore-Eustace, and Kilcullen.

Information was received on the twenty-third of May, by the garrison at Naas, that an attack was that evening meditated to take place upon the town, and steps were consequently taken for immediate and effectual resistance. The greatest anxiety prevailed during that night and part of the succeeding morning; which was much increased by the intelligence announced by a dragoon, that the rebels were advancing against the town in considerable force. Large parties (some of whom stole unno-

ticed into the very centre of the town) accordingly made an attack at an early hour, and engaged a party of the Armagh militia; by whom they were repulsed, after having sustained three volleys. In their flight, a great many pikes were dropped: three prisoners were taken, and were immediately hanged in the streets.

The attack upon Prosperous, on the same day, was more successful. The centinels were killed, and the barracks assaulted while the soldiery were asleep. Rushing into the building, the rebels immediately put to death captain Swaine. The soldiers, however, in the opposite apartment, succeeded in expelling them; after which a fierce conflict ensued, but was terminated by the rebels setting fire to a quantity of straw which happened to be in the under-ground office. The soldiers, almost in a state of suffocation, retreated to the upper storeys, which they were quickly obliged to abandon by the rapidity of the flames. Some of them, leaping out of the windows, were received on the pikes of the assailants: the remainder, making a desperate sally, endeavoured to force themselves a passage, but were nearly all of them slain in the attempt: the deputy barrack-master, who, together with his family, had concealed himself during this scene of carnage, was saved, after coming out and surrendering, by the unexpected clemency of the rebels. Mr. Brewer, an Englishman, remarkable for humanity, but who had unfortunately incurred the enmity of the insurgents, was piked to death in his own house. Mr. Stammers also, who delivered himself up for the purpose of saving a house and its inhabitants, who were threatened with extermination, was, notwithstanding a promise of safety, treacherously shot in the street. In this affair the king's troops are said to have lost about seventy men.

The attack upon Clane commenced by a considerable body, who stole into the town unperceived by all but a drummer and trumpeter, who succeeded in alarming the garrison. The houses in which the soldiers were quartered were surrounded, singly, by bodies of pikemen; so that the military were obliged to fight their way individually through the assailants. With the loss of only two men, however, and five wounded, they succeeded in assembling, and, notwithstanding the surprise and

confusion, gallantly repulsed the insurgents. In a second attempt which was made, six rebels, mounted on horses of the Ancient Britons, and dressed in their clothes, entered the town with a design to impose themselves on the yeoman as friends. One of them, however, having made a cut at captain Jephson with a sword, was instantly shot, and his companions obliged to fly with many wounds. About half past three in the morning, captain Griffith, having been informed at his seat that a body of rebels had attacked the guard of Clane, arrived in the town. He there found that the steady valour of part of his troop had so far checked the enemy, as to give time for about forty of the Armagh corps to turn out; that the yeoman and militia had not fired above three rounds when the insurgents were dispersed; and that they were hotly pursuing them and burning such houses on the common as they suspected to afford them shelter. Six prisoners were taken; one of whom was executed at Clane, the other five on the same day at Naas. About five o'clock intelligence was brought him of the defeat of the troops at Prosperous. The captain had hardly time to draw up his men, when a party of rebels, mounted on the horses, and well furnished with the arms and accoutrements of the Ancient Britons, made a charge into the town. One volley brought six or seven of them to the ground. The remainder made a precipitate flight, and took shelter behind a strong body of infantry which was advancing against the town from Prosperous. The little army of captain Griffith, not being strong enough to march against this numerous body, whose appearance was rendered formidable by the scarlet clothing and arms of the military massacred at Prosperous, retreated to an elevated ground near the common, where they could not be surrounded or outflanked. There the insurgents quickly commenced a smart firing upon them, which, however, the height of the ground rendered ineffective; while they returned a galling fire that killed and wounded considerable numbers, and at length compelled them to disperse in the utmost confusion. They were pursued with slaughter, and in their flight dropped great quantities of pikes and other arms. On captain Griffith's return to Clane, he was secretly informed that Dr. Esmond, a lieutenant of his corps, who had attended the muster with alacrity, in order to resist

the rebels there, had led the insurgents in the attack upon Prosperous. The captain having been ordered to march to Naas, prudently took no notice of this intelligence until he arrived there; when, drawing up his men in front of the goal, he immediately committed the lieutenant. He was afterwards conveyed to Dublin, where he was tried and executed as a traitor. He was brother to sir Thomas Esmond, of a very ancient popish family in the county of Wexford. He was a man remarkable for the beauty of his countenance, the handsomeness, of his figure, the highly convivial qualities of his disposition, and the greatest knowledge of his profession; to which he added humanity and honour in his conduct in private life.

On the tenth of May, captain Beevor had been ordered to Ballymore-Eustace, with detachments of the ninth dragoons, and of the Tyrone, Antrim, and Armagh militia, in order to compel the United Irishmen in that quarter to surrender their arms, by living among them at free-quarters. As the captain in this service had about three thousand stand of arms of various descriptions surrendered to him; and as, on the twenty-third of May, four sergeants of United Irishmen marched in with their complement of men, eleven to each, and surrendering their arms, received protections, he imagined that he had completely effected the object of his mission; and accordingly sent off one hundred and twenty of his men, retaining only about forty, in order to lighten the burdens of the people who were obliged to maintain them.

The imprudence of this step, however, was quickly felt. The soldiers were quartered in eight different houses, which a body of rebels, to the amount of eight hundred, attacked early in the morning of the twenty-fourth, one hundred men surrounding each house. About one o'clock, captain Beevor was awakened by the cry of a person, that the rebels would have his blood. He instantly got out of bed, when he perceived two men rush into the apartment, the one armed with a pistol, the other with a pike. As the former fired at and missed him, the captain seized a pistol which lay by his bedside and shot him through the body. He instantly received a slight wound in the shoulder from the pike of the other; but as he was

reaching for a second pistol, the pikeman closed with him, and seizing him in his arms, carried him towards the top of the stairs, where a number of rebels were ready to receive him on their pikes. By a violent effort of strength, however, the captain succeeded in getting himself extricated, when he dragged his adversary into a room where he was run through the body by lieutenant Patrickson. Meantime the dragoons, who were rallying round the captain's quarters, attacked and killed many of the insurgents, who maintained a desperate conflict for nearly two hours. In other parts of the town, the enemy had set fire to several houses in which the soldiers were quartered; killed seven dragoons and wounded three: the Tyrone militia also had four killed and two wounded. But captain Beevor, with twelve dragoons, sallied out and routed them in every direction, with the loss of three of their captains and a considerable number of men. Amongst the losses of the military was lieutenant M'Farland of the Tyrone militia, who was shot through the body.

At seven in the morning of the twenty-fourth, general Dundas, having received information that a body of rebels had assembled the proceeding night at a place called the Rath of Gilttown, and that their intention was to attack Kilcullen that day, ordered forty of the ninth dragoons and the Romneys, and twenty two of the suffolk fencibles, to march against them. The general, putting himself at the head of the cavalry, found three hundred of the enemy strongly entrenched in the church-yard, whom he immediately attacked, without waiting till the infantry came up, though the ground was broken and uneven, and though many of the rebels, armed with long pikes, had formed themselves into a strong phalanx in a road close by the church-yard, in which not more than six of the dragoons could charge in front. The charge, however, was made with great spirit; but the horse were instantaneously repulsed. Thrice they were urged by the general to renew the charge, and as often were they furiously driven back, with the loss of captains Erskine and Cooks and twenty-two privates who were killed; besides ten so desperately wounded that most of them expired soon after.

The general, after this defeat, retired with his shattered force to the village of Kilcullen-bridge, where he halted for some

time. But the victors, determined to follow up the successful blow they had struck, though they were conscious they could not force the strong and narrow pass of Kilcullen-bridge, took a circuitous route, in which their number was increased to several thousands, and took a position between Kilcullen and Naas, in order to intercept the general in his retreat. In this extremity he resolutely put himself at the head of twenty-seven of the suffolk fencible infantry, with his cavalry in the rear, and boldly marched up to the rebels, by whom the attack was vigorously begun; but who were broken by three destructive and well directed volleys from the infantry; after which the cavalry charged, put them completely to the route, and pursued them with so terrible a slaughter, that their loss is stated to have amounted to about three hundred men. After this decided advantage, the general marched to Naas, in order to concentrate his forces as near as possible to the metropolis, being justly apprehensive that the enemy meditated to make an attack upon it in great force.

About two o'clock on the twenty-third, general Wilford, who commanded at Kildare, received an order from general Dundas to march with his whole force to his assistance at Kilcullen. On leaving the town, he sent orders to captain Wilson at Monastereven, to follow him; and, on his arrival at Kildare, to set fire to the camp equipage lodged there. From the execution of this mandate, however, he was diverted by the solicitations of Mr. O'Reilly, who represented to him the danger of setting fire to the town by such a step. No sooner had the military left the town, than the market bell was rung by the inhabitants as a signal for a general rising; and about two thousand rebels, led by one Roger M'Garry, marched into the town, and seized all the officer's baggage, the camp equipage, and an immense quantity of pikes, fire-arms, &c. which had been surrendered a few days before. Most of the protestant inhabitants, apprehensive of being massacred, fled with precipitation to Naas and Monastereven, leaving behind them their property, which, together with their houses, was destroyed and plundered by the rebels.

Early in the succeeding morning, M'Garry, with about twelve hundred insurgents, marched against Monastereven, the

garrison of which consisted of about one hundred men composed of yeomanry infantry and cavalry. As soon as intelligence was received of the approach of the enemy, the garrison made circuits through the circumjacent country, that the inhabitants might have an opportunity of retreating into the town. During these excursions they met with numerous parties of rebels, hastening to join their leaders, with whom they had frequent skirmishes. In one of these conflicts they liberated a small party of the Ancient Britons, who had been taken prisoners: one of their own troop was wounded in the action. About four o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fourth, the garrison was attacked by the rebels, who, however, were repulsed with slaughter, carrying with them their dead and wounded, though not before they had set fire to the town. Nine loyalists, two of whom were volunteers, were slain.

The neighbourhood of Rathangan, on the twenty-fourth was in a state of insurrection, and the town itself was taken possession of on the twenty-sixth by the rebels. They retained it until the twenty-ninth, when they were dislodged with slaughter by colonel Longfield, with the city of Cork militia, a detachment of dragoons, and two field-pieces.

Of the intended surprise of Carlow, the garrison was apprised, both by an intercepted letter, and by the intelligence of lieutenant Roe, of the North Cork militia, who had seen the peasants assemble in the evening of the 24th of May. The garrison, consisting of a body of the 9th dragoons, the light company of the North Cork militia, under captain Heard, some of the Louth militia, under lieutenant Ogle, the yeomen infantry of Carlow, under captains Burton and Eustace, sir Charles Burton's yeomen cavalry, and about forty volunteers; the whole about four hundred and fifty in number, under the command of colonel Mahone of the 9th dragoons, was judiciously placed at various posts for the reception of the assailants. The plan of assault was ill-contrived or ill-executed. Different parties were appointed to enter the town at different avenues; but only one attempted an entrance; the rest being deterred by the incessant firing of the troops. This body of rebels, amounting to a thousand or fifteen hundred, assembled at the house of sir Edward Crosbie, a mile and a half from Carlow, and

marched into the town about two o'clock in the morning of the 25th of May, with so little precaution as to alarm the garrison at a quarter of a mile's distance, by the discharge of a gun, in the execution of one of their own deserters. Shouting, as they rushed into Tullow-street, with that vain confidence which is generally followed by disappointment, that the town was their own, they received so destructive a fire from the garrison, that they recoiled and endeavoured to retreat; but finding their flight intercepted, numbers rushed into the houses, where they found a miserable exit, these being immediately set fire to by the soldiery. About eight houses were consumed in this conflagration, and for some days the roasted remains of the rebels were falling down the chimnies in which they had perished. Their loss is estimated at upwards of four hundred; while not a man was even wounded on the side of the loyalists.

After the defeat, executions commenced as elsewhere in this calamitous period, and about two hundred were in a short time hanged or shot, according to martial law. Among the earliest victims were sir Edward William Crosbie, and one Heydon, a yeoman. The latter is believed to have been the leader of the rebel column; to have conducted them into the town, and on their ill success to have abandoned them. He had certainly in that crisis taken his place as a yeoman, and joined in the slaughter of the assailants.

A pamphlet has since appeared, intitled, "A Narrative of the Apprehension, Trial, and Execution of sir Edward William Crosbie, Bart.; in which the Innocence of sir Edward, and the Iniquity of the Proceedings against him are indubitably and clearly proved."

The tyranny and injustice too frequently exercised by those intrusted with power by the administration in this lamentable struggle was never more fully exemplified than in the proceedings which this publication narrates. Witnesses in favour of sir Edward, though protestants, and well known to be loyal subjects, were forcibly deterred from entering the court by military terror. Tortures and flogging were mercilessly inflicted on Roman catholic prisoners, to compel them to give perjured evidence against him; and they were even promised their own

lives if he should be convicted by their means. Still, notwithstanding these infamous and arbitrary measures, adopted with evident intention to overwhelm an innocent man, no charge could be proved against him; but yet, to the indelible disgrace of those concerned in this iniquitous procedure, he was condemned and executed with circumstances of particular atrocity. The court by which he was tried was moreover irregularly constituted and illegal, being destitute of a judge-advocate. The sentence was executed at an unusual hour, and so sensible were his judges of their own injustice, that in defiance of a special act of parliament, a copy of the proceedings was refused to his widow and family. After perusing actions such as these, we view with indignation the shameful accounts of atrocities committed by the rebels, written by men who support the proceedings of another party, and basely prostitute their talents to exalt every action of the loyal troops and subjects, however reprehensible their conduct; whilst the proceedings of their opponents are painted with every appearance of brutal ferocity that rancour and prejudice can suggest.

It is not our intention to specify individually all the atrocities and murders committed by the inferior actors in the rebellion. Many of these were undoubtedly the result of private antipathies; others dictated by the ferocity of ungovernable mobs; and are all of them, perhaps, what would have taken place in similar circumstances amongst the most enlightened and humane people on earth. Of this the revolution in France affords a melancholy example. Popular resentment, once roused, cannot be restrained within due bounds, or directed only against proper objects; and such is the want of subordination in tumultuary assemblies of armed men, that even their leaders are often compelled to yield to the torrent, and to suffer themselves to be hurried away by the impetuous passions of the mass.

Mr. Elliot, going from Carlow, after the repulse of the rebels, to visit his house three miles from town, saw a number of peasants assembled in the road at the end of his avenue. He was advancing without apprehension of danger, when observing two guns levelled at him, he galloped away and escap-

ed both shots. On his returning soon after with a body of yeomen, the peasants fled to places of concealment. When this gentleman, however, quite contrary to their expectations, rested satisfied with dispersing the insurgents, instead of burning their cabins and inflicting on them any severe punishment, as was usual, they returned to their habitations, and continued to remain perfectly quiet instead of being driven by desperation to join the rebel armies.

The Queen's County rebels were to have joined those of the county of Carlow at Graigue-bridge; but having heard that there were two pieces of cannon posted there, they changed their route; and, headed by two leaders of the names of Redmond and Brennan, who had been yeomen, they burned several houses, belonging to protestants, in the village of Ballyckmoller; and attacked the house of the Rev. John Witty, a protestant clergyman, near Arles, about five miles from Carlow; but it was bravely defended by himself and eleven friends, who kept up a constant fire, killed twenty-one rebels, and baffled all their attempts to storm or to burn it. The conflict continued from three till six o'clock in the morning.

On the 30th of May, a number of rebels, headed by one Casey, attacked and burned the charter-school at Castlecarrberry, after having plundered all the property of Mr. Sparks, the master, which was considerable. The school had been defended by a party of fencibles till the 24th of May; but when they were withdrawn, Mr. Sparks and his family were obliged to abandon it; and the children took refuge in the Bog of Allen, and in some neighbouring cabins.

On the same day that the charter-school was attacked, a great number of rebels encamped on an island in the bog of Timahoe, and at Mucklin and Drihid; and for some time continued to plunder the houses of protestants, and carried off all the horses and cattle they could find. Government having received intelligence of these proceedings, sent General Champagne, on the 5th of June, to attack the enemy with the following forces:—a detachment of the Limerick militia, commanded by colonel Gough; the Canal Legion, by lieutenant Williams; the Coolestown Cavalry, by captain Wakely; the Clo-

nard Cavalry, by lieutenant Tyrell; and the Ballina Cavalry, by captain O'Ferrall.

The general disposed the cavalry so as to surround the bog, while the infantry attacked the camp on the island. The contest lasted some time, as there were but a small number of infantry; however they at last forced the camp and dispersed the rebels; of whom great numbers were slain in their flight by the cavalry.

A detachment of the Limerick, the Coolestown, the Canal Legion, and a party of Northumberland fencibles, attacked about six hundred rebels, who were posted on Foxes-hill; and whom they entirely routed with considerable slaughter.

No where did the rebels shew more fully their want of prudence, and their vain confidence, than in the attack which they made upon Hacketstown in the county of Carlow, forty-four miles from Dublin. On their approach to the town, the garrison, which consisted of a detachment of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Gardiner, and a body of yeomen under captain Hardy, marched out to meet them; but terrified by their numbers (about three thousand) they retreated and took shelter in the barrack. Exulting at their imaginary victory, the rebels raised a triumphant shout, and rushed forward with impetuosity, but in the utmost confusion. In this situation they were dexterously charged by captain Hume, who most fortunately arrived at that instant with thirty of his yeomen, completely routed and dispersed, with the loss of two hundred men. Lieutenant Gardiner received a violent blow on the breast with a stone; and only one soldier was hurt.

On the morning of the twenty-fourth, the officers of the Navan cavalry, John Preston, Esq. captain, dispatched intelligence by letter to the officer commanding the garrison at Kells, to request he would send them such troops as he could spare for their protection; as they had been informed of the insurrections at Dunboyne and Dunshaughlin, and that the rebels had planted the tree of liberty at the latter. Captain Molloy, immediately on receipt of this intelligence, marched the yeomen infantry and cavalry to their assistance; but on his arrival, finding that the town was not in immediate danger of an attack, he returned to Kells for the protection of its inhabi-

tants, and of a large depot of ammunition there, which was endangered by his absence. A detachment was then ordered to proceed towards Dunshaughlin, and to reconnoiter the enemy. As they returned with information that the mass of the people were in arms, Mr. Barry, lieutenant of the Navan troop, dispatched the following notice to captain Molloy at Kells :—

“ Sir,—Prepare your yeomanry immediately, as an insurrection has appeared from Dublin to Dunshaughlin, and numbers have been murdered. Communicate this to all the other officers.”

Of this intelligence captain Molloy apprized the different yeomen officers ; and strenuously recommended to them to hold themselves in readiness for action. Captain Preston of the Navan cavalry, understanding that the Rea fencibles were to be in Navan on the night of the twenty-fifth of May, resolved to obtain their assistance in an attack upon the rebel station at Dunshaughlin. His demand of co-operation having been agreed to, and all the yeomanry in the adjacent country having joined them, they proceeded at day-break on the twenty-sixth to Dunshaughlin ; which, however, the rebels had previously abandoned, and strongly posted themselves on the hill of Tarah in the county of Meath, eighteen miles northward of Dublin, an eminence well adapted for defence against an attacking foe ; but so situated as to be extremely unfavourable to a retreating army, especially if pursued by cavalry. The hill is very steep, surrounded at the top by three circular Danish forts, with ramparts and fosses ; and on the summit is the church-yard, enclosed by a high wall. The king's troops, consisting of two hundred and ten of the Rea fencibles, with a battalion gun, lord Fingall's troop of yeoman cavalry, those of captain Preston, lower Kells, and captain Molloy's company of yeoman infantry, amounted in all to about four hundred men. The rebels, who were perhaps about three thousand in number, no sooner perceived the king's troops advancing, than they uttered loud shouts of exultation, and immediately began the attack, firing briskly as they advanced. The royal infantry, with the cavalry on their flanks, retained their fire till within about fifty yards of the enemy, when a desperate conflict ensued. The rebels made three furious onsets, in the last of which, with daring resolution, they seized upon the can-

non, but before they could completely surround her, the officer who commanded had applied the match, and the succeeding discharge destroyed ten or twelve of the assailants and dispersed the remainder. The whole body of rebels, by the steadiness and valour of the king's troops, were at length routed in all directions, with the loss of about four hundred killed and wounded, and three hundred horses captured; together with all their arms, ammunition, baggage, and provisions. The victors lost about forty men, and had expended their whole ammunition before the rebels were put to flight. In the pockets of some of the killed were found popish prayer-books, beads, rosaries, crucifixes, pious ejaculations to Christ and to the Virgin Mary, and a variety of republican songs.

This signal victory laid open the communication betwixt the capital and the northern parts of the kingdom, as that at Rathangan did betwixt it and the western. Discouraged by these and other defeats, many of the rebels began to wish for leave to retire in safety to their houses, and to return to their peaceable occupations. General Dundas, on the twenty-eighth of May, received at his head-quarters at Naas, by Thomas Kelly, Esq. a magistrate, a message from a rebel chief named Perkins, who commanded a body of two thousand men at Knochawlin-hill, on the border of the Curragh of Kildare, a plain twenty-two miles south westward of Dublin, expressing a readiness to surrender their arms, provided they were allowed to retire unmolested to their respective houses, and that Perkins' brother, then in the jail of Naas, should be liberated. The general not considering himself authorised to conclude a treaty with the rebels, sent to Dublin for instructions; and having received permission, proceeded to Knockawlin on the thirty-first; where, after he had received the personal surrendry of Perkins and a few of his associates, he granted pardon to the rest, who immediately dispersed with shouts of joy, leaving behind them thirteen cart-loads of pikes.

This peaceable disposition, however, was unfortunately blasted three days afterwards by military licentiousness and want of that strict attention to discipline, so indispensibly requisite when a country is in a state of insurrection. In order to open the communication betwixt Dublin and Limerick, major-general

Duff had made a rapid march from the latter with six hundred men, and received intelligence that a very considerable body of rebels had assembled at the Gibbit-rath, on the Currah, for the purpose of availing themselves of the permission to surrender which had been granted to them by general Dundas. Unfortunately general Dundas was not present to receive the submission of this body himself. General Duff's troops were accordingly ordered to approach them for this purpose. On the advance of the military, one of the rebels thoughtlessly swore he would not deliver up his piece loaded, and, presenting it with the muzzle upwards, discharged its contents in the air. The troops, with a thirst for carnage disgraceful to themselves, and two frequently displayed by the royal forces in the course of the rebellion, affecting to consider this innocent bravado as an act of hostility, instantly fired amongst the rebels. Panic-struck by this unexpected act of treacherous severity, the astonished multitude fled in all directions without offering to make the least resistance. Notwithstanding this, however, a company of fencible cavalry, denominated lord Jocelyn's *Fox-hunters*, eager to show their valour in the slaughter of an unresisting foe, pursued them with dreadful havoc, till a retreat was sounded, which general Dundas, who was apprehensive of such an accident, perhaps from his knowing well the disposition of the military, had sent an express from his quarters at Kilcullen to order. Upwards of two hundred rebels fell on this occasion; and perhaps a far greater number would have shared the same fate, had not general Dundas's wise measure put a stop to the fury of the troops. We cannot better shew our approbation of the conduct of that gentleman, than by inserting the following address from the corps of Athy loyal infantry, which reflects infinite credit not only on the general himself, but also on the corps by which it was presented :

“ *To Lieutenant-General Dundas, &c.*

“ Sir,—The arrangements, which follow the termination of a
 “ glorious war, being likely to deprive us of the man whose
 “ wise and humane conduct saved the lives of thousands, we
 “ cannot suffer the opportunity to pass, without expressing to

“ our brave general the sentiments of gratitude with which our
“ hearts are filled.

“ Placed at the head of our district, during, a period most
“ eventful and calamitous, your command has been distinguish-
“ ed by the zeal of your conduct, and the *humanity* of your
“ counsel, surrounded by armed bands of our misguided coun-
“ trymen. You first subdued them by your sword, and then
“ disarmed them by your clemency. In you, sir, we have
“ seen the brightest ornament of the soldier's character—*humani-*
“ *ty, united with true courage.* And when the unprejudiced
“ historian shall write the events of the day, the name of Dun-
“ das will be applauded by rising generations.

“ Your kind partiality and attention to the Athy yeoman
“ infantry, raised on the spur of the moment, have induced
“ them to offer this (the only tribute in their power) to their
“ revered general. Wherever you go, you will carry with you
“ their invariable attachment, and the applauses of all true lovers
“ of their country and of *humanity.*

“ For the corps of Athy loyal yeoman infantry,
Athy, 1st Jan. 1802. T. I. RAWSON, Captain.”

Though the conduct of this general officer, especially in the affair at Old Kilcullen, where he injudiciously ordered the cavalry to attack the rebel pikemen, has been severely censured by many persons; yet it ought to be taken into consideration, that that error by no means attaches to him individually, and is no proof of his deficiency in military skill. It appears to have been an universal opinion, until fatal experience brought conviction to the contrary, that cavalry were of greater service in the attack of men armed with pikes than infantry. Of this the formation of so many bodies of yeomen cavalry, and the paucity of infantry, is a convincing proof. The general's conduct appears to have been no less satisfactory to the loyal inhabitants of the district in which he commanded, than to the corps of Athy loyal infantry. This they gratefully acknowledged in an address, published in the *Dublin Evening Post*, accompanied with the presentation of a piece of plate, as a testimony of their respect and veneration.

Besides these attacks made on various places by the insurgents, and engagements betwixt them and the royal troops, commotions took place in the neighbourhood of Dunlavin. The garrison in the town consisted of a corps of yeomen cavalry, commanded by captain Ryves, and the light company of the Wicklow militia. At the head of a company of cavalry, the captain marched against the rebels, but was obliged to retreat, after some of his men had been killed by pikes. On his return, the number of prisoners under suspicion of treason being greater than that of the garrison, and apprehensions being entertained that they would co-operate with the rebels in case of an attack, it was determined by a council of officers, who ought to have been well convinced of the guilt of the sufferers before they proceeded to so severe and arbitrary a measure, that such of the yeomanry as had been imprisoned on suspicion should be put to death. In consequence of this determination, nineteen of the Saunders-grove corps and nine of the Narramore were led out and shot!

These open acts of hostility had been met by a proclamation of the lord lieutenant, on the twenty-fourth of May, giving notice that orders had been sent to all his majesty's general officers in Ireland, to punish with death, or otherwise, all persons acting or in any manner assisting in the rebellion. The proclamation had also been notified to both houses of parliament by a message from his excellency, who received their thanks and approbation of the measure.

CHAPTER VI.

WHILE a communication was, by the means already mentioned, nearly laid open between the metropolis and the rest of the kingdom, the flames of civil war were kindled, and began to blaze in a quarter where insurrection was least expected. The county of Wexford had enjoyed a greater portion of social comfort than perhaps any other part of the province of Leinster. Gentlemen of landed property in it were less addicted to the shameful practice of absenting themselves from their estates, so prevalent in other quarters of the kingdom. Improvements were made by them, which would have been overlooked in their absence. The farmers followed the example of their landlords; and the peasants were consequently employed with regularity, which introduced amongst them habits of industry and order. Rents were comparatively low. From all these causes this county was very slowly and imperfectly organized by the United Society. Besides conducting themselves in the most peaceable manner, the Roman catholics had addressed the lord lieutenant through the medium of lord Mountnorris, professing their loyalty, and offering to arm themselves, if permitted, for the preservation of tranquility. Government was so well convinced by these circumstances of the well affected state of the county, that not above six hundred soldiers were stationed throughout the whole of it; its defence being abandoned chiefly to the yeomanry corps and their supplementaries. The members who composed these corps of

protestant yeomanry, inflamed by religious prejudice and the reports of atrocities committed by the Romanists in former times; or perhaps presumptuous from their imaginary superiority over the catholics, imprudently treated the latter with contumely and outrage. The magistrates, with equal imprudence, and that tendency to the abuse of power, so natural to weak and little minds, employed themselves in whipping and imprisoning numbers of persons whom they thought proper to suspect of disloyalty, often without sufficient grounds to authorise such proceedings. The body of six hundred regulars and militia, also ill commanded, and for the most part ill officered, contributed, by previous insult and subsequent timidity, to forward the work of rebellion. Those who insult and tyrannize over the peaceable and submissive, are for the most part the first to shrink at the appearance of danger, and to fly from the presence of such as, by their own imprudence, and by repeated injuries, they have roused to resentment and to vengeance. The system of imprisonment and of flogging, however, appears to have been principally the cause of disaffection: "I am well informed, that no floggings had place in the town of Wexford, nor in the baronies of Forth and Bargy; and that in those baronies no atrocities were committed before or since the rebellion."* Whatever might have been the state of this county, whether it would have continued in a state of tranquility or not, had not these rigorous measures been adopted; certain it is, that after the insurrection did commence, the number of insurgents was greatly increased by the lawless conduct of straggling parties of yeomen, who too frequently shot unarmed and unoffending persons in the roads, in the fields at work, and even in their houses.

On the night of the twenty-sixth of May, the standard of rebellion was raised for the first time in this county, by father John Murphy, Romish priest of Boulavogue, commonly called Father John, a man of mean intellects, and a fanatic in religion; but at the same time eminently qualified to rouse the ignorant multitude to tumult. He kindled a fire on a hill called

* Note of the Rev. Mr. Gordon—See his History of the Rebellion in Ireland in 1798, &c. p. 103.

Corrigrua, as a signal for his associates to assemble, which was answered by another fire on an eminence contiguous to his own house at Boulavogue. This rising was communicated to the garrison at Enniscorthy by a female named Piper, the daughter of a widow whose house the insurgents had assaulted, and from which she had escaped by leaping out at a window, and flying to Enniscorthy on horseback. The house was situated at a place called Tincurry, about four miles from Enniscorthy. The insurgents wounded the widow, broke the arm of one of her daughters, who was with child, and slew her nephew, a young man named Candy.

Murphy, having burned some protestant houses, proceeded to a place called the Harrow; where he engaged and defeated a party of the Camolin yeomen infantry, commanded by lieutenant Bookey, who was slain in the commencement of the action while advancing before his men to harangue the insurgents. This beginning of hostilities, and the success by which it was attended, brought great numbers to join the rebels, so that on the succeeding morning, Whitsunday, [May 27.] two very considerable bodies had collected, one on the hill of Oulart, about eleven miles to the south of Wexford; the other on Kilthomas hill, an inferior ridge of Slyeeve Bwee mountain, about nine miles westward of Gorey. These body of insurgents were mixed multitudes of persons of both sexes and all ages. Against the rebels assembled at Oulart, commanded by father John Murphy in person, was detached, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Foote, one hundred and ten chosen men of the North Cork militia. On the advance of the king's troops, a party descended from the southern side of the hill, apparently with intention to have engaged them. These were broken and dispersed at the first onset, and fled with precipitation to the northern side of the hill, whither they were pursued with so little apprehension of resistance, that no rank or order was observed. On reaching the northern summit, they were informed that a considerable body of cavalry had that morning been observed approaching the hill, in the direction whither they were flying, and that their intention was either to intercept them in their retreat, or to co-operate with the infantry in a joint attack. As they were yet so unskilled in military affairs as to regard an

attack from cavalry the most formidable that could be made upon them, and as Father Murphy exclaimed they must either conquer or inevitably perish, they turned again upon their pursuers, who had by this time, breathless with running, nearly gained the top. Only about three hundred of the rebels, however, ventured to make this desperate attack, which was so sudden and impetuous, that the whole of the troops, except the lieutenant-colonel, a serjeant, and three privates, were killed almost in an instant, including one major, one captain, two lieutenants, and one ensign.

The body of cavalry, for fear of whom the insurgents were driven to this desperate exertion of courage, had that morning early left Gorey with intention to attack them; but after they had proceeded about thirteen miles, the number and position of the enemy was such as to induce them to retreat, which they accomplished after killing some unarmed stragglers and several old men whom they found in the houses. They were ignorant that the North Cork militia had that morning marched to attack the same body.

Against the rebels assembled at Kiltomas hill, consisting of between two and three thousand armed men, besides women, children, &c. a body about three hundred yeomen, infantry and cavalry, marched, and were more successful than their brethren at Oulart. The infantry of this little army, flanked at a considerable distance on the left by the cavalry, advanced up the hill against the rebels, who were posted on the summit, with the utmost intrepidity; and the insurgents were so panic-struck by a few discharges of musketry, that they fled, and were pursued with the loss of about a hundred and fifty men. The victors also, in the course of seven miles march, burned two catholic chapels, and about a hundred cabins and farm-houses.

Meantime the victorious body of Oulart, under father Murphy, elated with their success, marched and took possession of Camolin, a town six miles westward of Gorey, whither its loyal inhabitants had fled for refuge. The whole country presented the most rueful aspect of civil warfare—houses in flames, part fired by the rebels, and part by the military; while the frightened inhabitants were flying in all quarters; the protestants to the towns, the Romanists to the hills, or to join the rebel parties

of their persuasion. From Camolin, the rebels advanced to Ferns, two miles further, from whence the loyalists had fled to Enniscorthy, six miles to the south. On the same morning the garrison of Carnew, nine miles from Gorey, consisting of three yeomanry corps, in all about two hundred men, attacked a large body of rebels who were preparing to assault that town, and compelled them to fly to Ferns, with the loss of nine killed and two taken prisoners.

Father Murphy found himself now in such strength that he determined, on Monday the twenty-eighth, the day after his victory at Oulart, to hazard an attack on the town of Enniscorthy, which was garrisoned by about three hundred men; as by the following return:

North Cork militia.

	<i>Cpts.</i>	<i>Subs.</i>	<i>Sergs.</i>	<i>Drums.</i>	<i>R. & F.</i>
Capt. Snowe's company,	1	1	3	2	56
Capt. De Courcy's do.	0	1	2	1	24

Enniscorthy infantry.

Capt. Pounden	1	2	2	1	50
Do. supplementary,	0	1	3	0	57

Scarawalsh infantry.

Capt. Cornock,	1	2	3	1	60
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Enniscorthy cavalry.

				<i>Trump.</i>	
Capt. Richards,	1	2	2	1	50

Total	4	9	15	6	297
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Officers names.

North Cork—Captain Snowe, lieutenant Bowen, ensign Harman.

Enniscorthy infantry—Captain Pounden, lieutenants Drury and Hunt.

Supplementary—lieutenant Pounden.

Scarawalsh infantry—Captain Cornock, lieutenants Carden and Rudd.

Lieutenant Spring on half-pay, and formerly lieutenant of the sixty-third regiment, joined the troops a volunteer.

The rebels, amounting to about seven thousand, eight hundred of whom were armed with muskets, appeared before the town about one o'clock in the afternoon. Enniscorthy, situate on both sides of the river Slaney, over which there is a stone bridge, is a market, a post, and a borough town. The market-house, court-house, and principal streets are on the south side. On the north are two suburbs called Templeshannon and Drumgoold, which extend close to Vinegar Hill, a mountain about twelve miles from the town of Wexford, sixteen from Ross, eighteen from Gorey, eight from Tahmon, six from Ferns, and ten from Newton-Barry. The river being navigable with the tide, it was a place of considerable trade, and contained between four and five thousand inhabitants. As intelligence had been received at nine o'clock that the enemy was advancing against the town, the garrison had their different positions and rallying posts immediately assigned them by captain Snowe, as commanding officer. The North-Cork were stationed on the bridge; the Enniscorthy cavalry in the street leading to it from the town; and the Enniscorthy and Scarawalsh infantry at the Duffreygate-hill on the Carlow road. A considerable guard was also posted at the market-house, where the arms and ammunition were lodged; and another guard over some suspicious persons confined in the castle. As the rebels approached towards the Duffrey-gate, in a strong column of about a mile in length, where many avenues led into the town, captains Cornock and Pounden led their yeomen forward, in a line about four hundred yards from the gate; on which the enemy halted about the same distance from them, and parties filed off about a half a mile to the right and left of the main body, with design to outflank the yeomen. After this movement, they advanced a few paces, drove a multitude of cattle and horses against the troops, and gave a general volley from right to left; so effective that captain Cornock, and lieutenants Hunt and Pounden, were wounded, the two latter mortally; and several privates killed and wounded. The yeomen returned the fire with considerable effect; but the rebels continued to advance, firing at the same time with such precision, that lieutenant Hunt, who had served during great part of the American war, astonished at their steadiness and celerity, declared that

he had never before experienced so heavy and well directed a fire. As the rebels continued to extend their wings, the yeomen deemed it prudent to retire near to the town, where they dispatched a message to captain Snowe, who defended the bridge, to require him to hasten to their assistance. That gentleman immediately marched to their aid with the North Cork militia; but understanding that the rebels were moving towards the bridge, he retreated to his former station in order to defend it: ordering the cavalry to cover his rear, a large body of the enemy having advanced to his last position. These captain Richards accordingly charged and dispersed, but had nine of his corps killed and three wounded, and sixteen horses killed. Captain Snowe arrived at the bridge in time to prevent the enemy from crossing.

Meantime the troops at the Duffrey-gate, finding they must quickly be surrounded by the long extended wings of the enemy, if they continued to hold their position, divided themselves into small parties; and occupying the different avenues leading into the town, defended them for some time with the greatest spirit and resolution; though the streets in which they fought had been fired by some of the disaffected inhabitants, in order to annoy them. These brave men, however, were at length compelled to retreat to the market-house, where they again made a stand. The rebels now attempted to ford the river in many places, but were galled from the bridge, which had become the station of defence. So fluctuating was the success of the day, during several hours, that many of the inhabitants, in order to avoid the fury of the prevailing party, had alternately displayed the orange and the green ribbon. At length the rebels, fording the river both above and below the bridge, some of them up to the middle, others to the neck in water, entered the eastern part of the town and fired it; when the garrison retreated in great disorder towards Wexford, fourteen miles distant, having expended the whole of their ammunition, though they had repeatedly filled their pouches from the militia magazine. An instance of intrepidity displayed by a yeoman, we deem not unworthy of notice: a spent ball having lodged in his neck, he had it extracted by the assistance of an officer; and calmly charging his piece with it, returned it to the enemy.

The garrison, in this obstinate engagement, lost eighty-eight men, among whom were captain Pounden of the supplementary yeomen, lieutenant Hunt of the Enniscorthy infantry, and lieutenant Carden of the Scarawalsh. Besides these, many of a large body of loyalists who joined the troops as volunteers, armed with guns, pistols, swords, &c. fell in the action. The rebels lost about three hundred men. As many of the protestant inhabitants as had time to escape, fled in distraction to Wexford, which they accomplished with difficulty. The weather was fine, and they were not pursued. The following account of the escape of the Rev. Mr. Handcock, rector of Kilcormuck, and his family, will convey to the reader an adequate idea of the situation of the loyalists. Mr. Handcock had personally fought in defence of the town.

" Finding that we could no longer keep our ground, I rushed singly through the streets, with a blunderbuss cocked, and presenting it at every person who looked at me, running for my life, but without the faintest hope of saving it, or that of my family, yet determined to share their fate; and with great difficulty getting into my house, locked and barricaded by the affrighted inmates, I dragged my wife down stairs with my children, just as they sat in her sick room;* and observing which way the fugitives were moving out of the town, I forced them along with the tragical cavalcade, until my wife, overpowered with terror and the heat of the flames, fell on a burning pile of rubbish, where, unable myself, from fatigue, to raise her, she would have been suffocated, or trampled to death, had not a gallant fellow of the North-Cork militia, wounded, and scarce able to drag his legs after him, assisted me, swearing the Munster oath, ' By J—s you did not forsake us, and I will not desert you.' The poor fellow accordingly stuck by us till we arrived at Wexford. In return for this, having got my wife and children behind or before mounted yeomen, I procured a horse for his wife, and carried his musket as far as I was able. When we came within three or four miles of Wexford, we were met by the yeomen ca-

* She lay in only two days before.

“valry of it, who turned out on hearing our disaster, to cover
“our retreat.”

On the morning after the rebels got possession of the town, it presented a dreadful scene of conflagration. Part of it was entirely consumed; and in part the flames were spreading with the greatest fury. Above four hundred dwelling-houses, warehouses, &c. were thus destroyed. The rebels, after having formed a camp on Vinegar hill, entrenched it, and erected some batteries, stationed a very strong garrison in Enniscorthy, and placed picquet guards, centinels, and videts, in all the avenues and roads leading to it for some miles round; which were relieved every day from the camp on the hill. The church of Enniscorthy having been stripped by the victors, they conveyed the bell to their camp, where it was employed for the purpose of marking the hours, and was to be rung as an alarm in case of surprise. And old windmill at the top of the hill was converted into a prison for loyalist prisoners. These were all tried by a court-martial, and on being condemned, were led to the front of the rebel line, where they were either shot or piked to death. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, the rebels executed no less than twenty-four persons.

CHAPTER VII.

THE town of Wexford, whither the garrison of Enniscorthy and as many of the loyal inhabitants as could make their escape, had retreated, had been in a state of the greatest alarm and consternation since the commencement of the insurrection, especially since the defeat of the royal troops at the battle of Oulart by father Murphy, on the twenty-seventh. The garrison had now laid aside all thoughts of giving the enemy battle in the field, and confined themselves to making every preparation for a vigorous defence. Amongst other measures taken for this purpose, all fires were ordered to be extinguished, and the roofs of thatched houses to be stripped, lest those inhabitants who were disaffected should assist the assailants by setting fire to the town.

In consequence of a suspicion of treasonable designs the sheriff and others had resolved to apprehend Beauchamp Baginval Harvey, of Bargycastle, John Henry Colclough, of Ballyteig, and Edward Fitzgerald, of Newpark, all of them gentlemen of the county of Wexford; who were accordingly arrested on the twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh, by captain Boyd, of the Wexford cavalry. On the twenty-ninth, Mr. Boyd, who had hopes of dispersing the insurgents without either giving them battle or making any concession in their favour, or who concluded that he might at least be able to divert their attention and to retard their progress, visited these three gentlemen in prison, and proposed that one of them should proceed to the

rebel camp and endeavour to persuade the insurgents, to retire to their respective homes. It was agreed that Mr. Colclough should undertake the mission, provided he was allowed to take Mr. Fitzgerald with him. When these two gentlemen arrived at the camp, the rebels were in a state of the utmost distraction; being undetermined in their plan of operations; some proposing to attack Newtown-Barry, others Ross, others Wexford, many to remain in their present post, and not a few to return for the defence of their own property, against the Orangemen. On the appearance of the two gentlemen prisoners, however, as they termed them, the divided multitude collected around them with loud shouts of joy and welcome. When Mr. Colclough had delivered his message, which was treated with neglect, he retired to put himself again into the hands of those by whom he had been sent, but Mr. Fitzgerald remained with the rebels, and that evening accompanied them to a post called Three Rocks, the termination of a long ridge called Forth Mountain, which forms the boundary of the Bargy and Forth baronies. As Three Rocks is only two miles and a half from Wexford, and as they were now fully determined to attack that town, they remained there during the night.

Meantime the several successful operations of the rebels and their increasing numbers, had spread so great an alarm, that, on the morning of the twenty-seventh, two hundred of the Donegal militia, commanded by lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, and a six pounder, arrived in Wexford accompanied by colonel Colville, captain Young, and lieutenant Sodon, for the purpose of strengthening the garrison, consisting of the remains of the North Cork militia, about three hundred men; the Healthfield and Enniscorthy cavalry, captain Ogle's infantry, the Enniscorthy infantry, the Wexford infantry commanded by doctor Jacob, the Scarawalsh infantry, and the Wexford and Taghmon cavalry. Colonel Maxwell's reinforcement not being deemed sufficient, a letter was conveyed to general Fawcett at Duncannon-fort from the mayor of Wexford, imploring further assistance, by a Mr. Sutton, who returned with the exhilarating tidings, that the general would that evening commence his march to Wexford in person, and bring with him the thirteenth regiment, four companies of the Meath militia, and a party of

artillery, with two howitzers. Colonel Maxwell, on the receipt of this intelligence; leaving the five passes, which lead into the town, guarded by the North Cork militia and yeomen, took post with his men on the following morning (May 30,) on the Windmill-hill above the town, with intention to march against the enemy on the arrival of general Fawcett's reinforcement.

That general, however, unfortunately for the royal cause, advanced no farther than Taghmon, seven miles from Wexford, from whence he sent forward a detachment of eighty-eight men, eighteen of whom belonged to the artillery, with the two howitzers, the whole commanded by captain Adams, of the North Cork militia. The general was unacquainted with the position of the rebels at Three Rocks, which the detachment was obliged to pass on its way to Wexford. At the distance of four miles from Wexford, the detachment observed ten or twelve men on an eminence, and immediately prepared for action. As there was no further appearance of resistance, the detachment again continued its march; but at Three Rocks, they were suddenly attacked by the insurgents, who, raising a white flag, and uttering loud shouts, cut to pieces nearly the whole party, together with captain Adams. The two howitzers and a considerable quantity of ammunition were also taken. The general, on intelligence of this disaster, instead of making any attempt to recover the howitzers, fell back with precipitation on Duncannon, from whence he sent his family to England, detaining the packet boat two hours for that purpose.

Meantime intelligence was conveyed to colonel Maxwell, at Windmill-hill, of the same defeat by lieutenant Fairclough of the Meath militia, and lieutenant Birch of the artillery, who had with great difficulty escaped the slaughter. That gentleman, who could have no suspicion of general Fawcett's retreat, instantly advanced to co-operate in the attempt he naturally concluded would be made to retake the howitzers. When he arrived within cannon-shot of the insurgents, he was attacked by the enemy with the two howitzers, which they had drawn to the top of the ridge, and which they used with a precision, that evinced the management of skilful hands. After discharging his six pounder several times in return, the colonel retreated in good order to Wexford, there being no appearance of general Fawcett's army, his flank being exposed by the flight of the

Taghmon cavalry, and the insurgents having made a movement to surround him. In this action lieut. colonel Watson was killed, and two privates wounded. During these transactions, the magnificent wooden bridge * of Wexford had been set on fire by the disaffected, perhaps with a view to prevent the arrival of succours from the opposite side of the river, or to cut off the retreat of the garrison, should the town be taken by the rebels. It was fortunately recovered from the flames by the inhabitants.

On the return of Colonel Maxwell a council of war was held, by which it was determined that the town be evacuated, as untenable, for the following reasons:—

I. That the town of Wexford is so situated amidst surrounding hills, as to be indefensible against a numerous enemy, provided with cannon, by a garrison of only six hundred men.

II. That many disaffected yeomen had strengthened the enemy, and weakened the garrison, by deserting to the rebels; and that a spirit of mutiny and disobedience to orders, appeared amongst the military, who were dispirited by the successes of the rebels.

III. That numbers of disaffected persons were within the town, furnished with arms and ammunition, ready to assist the rebels, when they should begin the attack, and to fire at the garrison from the houses, whilst they should be engaged with the enemy in defence of the town.

To complete the dismay and distrust of the garrison, the North Cork militia, about half past ten, had deserted their post near the barrack, and marched to Duncannon, in which retreat they were joined by captain Cornock's yeomen infantry. On all these accounts colonel Maxwell immediately abandoned the town, sending two gentlemen to notify the evacuation to the rebels, to prevent its being treated as if taken by storm, and began to retreat to the fort of Duncannon, twenty-three miles distant, in such confusion, that, if the rebels had pursued, which

* This bridge which was completed in February, 1795, stands on seventy-five piers of piles, of six uprights each, with a draw-bridge for vessels to pass through. It is one thousand five hundred and fifty-four feet long, and thirty-four broad; standing in twenty feet of water. It was built by a subscription of 14,000*l*.

was strenuously advised by some of the leaders, nearly the whole must inevitably have been destroyed. A great many loyal inhabitants, ignorant of the intended evacuation, which was determined on and executed with the greatest precipitation, were left in the power of the rebels. Many of these crowded on board the vessels in the harbour, in order to take refuge in Britain; but as most of the vessels were manned by Romanists, few of them effected their purpose, the ships returning to the harbour when the town was taken possession of by the rebels, and re-landing the people. The insurgents took possession of Wexford without opposition, to which the licentious conduct of the king's troops in their flight, burning cabins, shooting peasants, and committing every species of outrage, sent many to join their standards.

The northern parts of the county of Wexford were, in the mean time, greatly agitated, as well as those of the south. As the judicious and liberal Mr. Gordon, rector of Killegny, in the diocese of Ferns, by his residence in that disturbed part of the country, possessed the most ample means of information, was even witness himself to several of those scenes which he relates; and is justly esteemed for the veracity, candour, and impartiality of his details, we shall give his pathetic description of the distresses of the loyalists, in and about Gorey in that quarter, in his own words:—

“The retreat already mentioned of the yeoman cavalry from Oulart, early on the morning of the 27th of May, to Gorey, was followed by great numbers of the people hastening to the town for protection, and carrying what they could of their effects with them; many, however, through terror and precipitation, leaving all behind. As Gorey consisted only of one street with a number of lanes, was garrisoned by no more than thirty of the North Cork militia, under lieutenant Swayne, and a number of yeomen, assisted by an undisciplined crowd, some of whom were armed only with pikes, to abandon the town, and retreat to Arklow, nine miles to the north, in the county of Wicklow, was at first resolved; but afterwards to defend the town was determined, carts and wagons being drawn by way of ramparts, across the avenues and the street, the undisciplined men placed at the windows to fire on the approaching enemy,

and the disciplined arranged about the centre of the town. In the evening arrived a reinforcement of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, an experienced and excellent officer; but as accounts of devastations and murders, received in the course of the day, seemed to indicate the approach of an army of rebels, the apprehensions of whom were rendered far more terrible by the news of the North Cork militia slaughtered at Oulart, orders were issued to abandon the town and retire to Arklow, at five o'clock on the following morning, the twenty-eighth of May.

“ The earl of Courtown who had resolved to defend Gorey, if possible, and who, for want of an adequate force, was obliged to abandon it, had embodied a troop of yeoman cavalry in October, of the year 1796, and had added to it a body of infantry, and a considerable number of supplementary men. In other parts of the country, where troops of this kind had been embodied, subscriptions had been raised, and a stock-purse formed, for the defraying of a variety of extraordinary expenses; but not a farthing was contributed by the gentlemen of the neighbourhood of Gorey to assist the earl, on whom was thrown the whole expence, and who exerted himself with an uncommon assiduity and activity. As he had performed much in the providing of a force to obviate or suppress rebellion, so his treatment of the common people, by his affable manners, had been always such as was best adapted to produce content in the lower classes, and prevent a proneness to insurrection. I consider myself as bound in strictness of justice to society, thus far to represent the conduct of this nobleman. Doubtless, the people in the neighbourhood of Gorey were the last and least violent of all in the county of Wexford, in rising against the established authority; and certainly the behaviour of the Stopford family in that neighbourhood, toward their inferiors, had always been remarkably conciliating and humane.

“ As the order to retreat was very sudden, on account of the imagined rapid approach of a resistless and ferocious enemy, a melancholy scene of trepidation, confusion, and flight, was the consequence; the afrighted crowd of people running in all directions for their horses, harnessing their cars and placing their families on them with precipitation, and escaping as

speedily as possible from the town. The road was soon filled to a great extent with a train of cars loaded with women and children, accompanied by a multitude on foot, many of whom were women with infants on their backs. The weather being hot and dry, the cloud of dust raised by the fugitive multitude, of whom I with my family was a part, rendered respiration difficult. The reception we found at Arklow was not well suited to our calamitous condition. Almost fainting with hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, we were denied admittance into the town, by orders of the commanding officer of the garrison, captain Rowan of the Antrim regiment; and great part of the poorer fugitives retiring, took refuge that day and night under the neighbouring hedges; but the better sort after a little delay, were admitted, on condition of quitting the town in half an hour. The loyalists, on permission to enter Arklow, were obliged to deliver their arms at the gate of the barrack to the guard, who promised to restore them; but, instead of this, they were afterwards formed into a pile in the yard of the barrack and burned. A man named Taylor, clerk of Camolin church, who made some scruple to surrender his arms was shot by the guard. After our admission, our situation was not so comfortable as we might have expected, for no refreshment could be procured by money for men or horses, and the hearts of the inhabitants in general seemed quite hardened against us. But, for my own part, I found very humane treatment. After remaining some time in the street, my family were courteously invited by a lady, to whom we were totally unknown, a Mrs. Hunte, into her house, where we were kindly refreshed with food and drink; and a gentleman, Mr. Joseph Alford, to whom we were equally unknown, coming accidentally where we were, insisted on our going to his house, three miles from Arklow, where we found a number of refugees, all of whom were treated with the most humane attention.

“Gorey, meantime, was in a singular predicament—abandoned by the loyalists, while the rest of the inhabitants in fear and dubious anxiety, remained closely shut within their houses, insomuch that all was in silence and solitude, except that an unprincipled female, frantic with joy at the flight of her imagin-

ed enemies, capered in an extraordinary manner in the street ; and that a pack of hounds belonging to the fugitive gentry, expressed their feelings on the occasion by a hideous and mournful yell ; and that six men who had been that morning, though unarmed, taken prisoners, shot through the body and left for dead in the street, were writhing with pain—one of whom in particular, was lying against a wall, and, though unable to speak, threatened with his fist a protestant who had run back into the town for something which he had forgotten. The yeomen returned in a few hours to Gorey, but immediately retreated again to Arklow ; and one of them, in riding through the former, met with a dangerous accident ;—a quantity of gun-powder had been spilled on the pavement by the militia in their hasty retreat, which, by a spark struck by one of the horses shoes, blew up, and singed both horse and man in a frightful manner, without, however, any fatal effects. As the rebels had bent their march toward the southern parts, Gorey remained unmolested, though destitute of defence. Filled as it was with a variety of goods, great part of which had been carried thither for safety from the neighbouring parts, it presented a tempting object of depredation ; but the pillaging of the lower class of the towns people was prevented by the better sort of Romanist inhabitants, who formed themselves into guards to protect the houses of their protestant neighbours ; and when a multitude of women had assembled at some distance to come and plunder the town, they dispersed in a fright on the receipt of false news that the Ancient-British Regiment of cavalry was approaching. At length John Hunter Gowan, Esq. a magistrate who had in a most meritorious and successful manner exerted himself many years in the apprehending and prosecuting of robbers, and had been partly rewarded for his services by a pension from government of £100 a year, collected a body of men to garrison the town. On the thirtieth and thirty-first of May, the greater part of the fugitives returned from Arklow to their homes, and the militia and yeomanry, who had abandoned Gorey on the twenty-eighth, resumed their station in it."

The insurgents having now taken possession of all the southern parts of the county, except Ross and Duncannon on the

south western border, began to turn their attention towards the north also. For this purpose the rebel force was marched, on the thirty-first of May, to the Three Rocks, and there formed into three divisions, one under Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, (who had been liberated as soon as the royal forces evacuated Wexford,) and Father Philip Roche of Poulpearsey, destined to march against Ross, another under captain Doyle and captain Redmond of the Queen's County, nephew to father Edward Redmond, of Ferns, who, with father Kearns, accompanied this body to Vinegar Hill, destined to attack the beautiful little town of Bunclody, better known by the name of Newtown-barry, situate ten miles northward of Enniscorthy; and the third division under the command of Anthony Perry, father Murphy of Ballycannow, and father Murphy of Boulavogue destined to march against Gorey.

Part of the division encamped on Vinegar-hill, about five thousand men, moved to the attack of Newtown-barry early on the morning of the first of June. The garrison consisted of two hundred and thirty of the King's county militia, with two battalion guns, commanded by colonel L'Estrange; eighty yeoman infantry, sixty Newtown-barry cavalry, under captain Kerr, twenty of the fourth dragoons and Carlow cavalry, under captain Cornwall, besides volunteers, in all about five hundred men. The rebels advanced in two columns; one on each side of the Slaney; intelligence of which was conveyed to the garrison by a reconnoitring party under captain Kerr. The town is built on the west side of the Slaney. Among the leaders of the enemy was Father Kearns, a man of gigantic stature, and of undaunted courage and ferocity. The attack was begun by a heavy fire on the town from a brass six pounder, a howitzer, and some swivel guns. According to the common practice of the military officers entrusted with the defence of the kingdom of Ireland, whether proceeding from want of courage or knowledge of their profession, it is not for us to determine, colonel L'Estrange abandoned the town with his troops; and would have left it, an easy prey to the rebels, defended only by a few loyalists, had not lieutenant-colonel Westnera at length prevailed on him to march back again for its defence. The rebels, meantime, by no means suspicious of the return of the

troops, had rushed in confusion into the town, intent upon plunder and devastation. The attack of the colonel's men was consequently effective, especially as he was preceded by the two pieces of cannon. The rebels were routed with the slaughter of two hundred men; while only two of the loyalists were killed. Had the rebels succeeded in this enterprise, a communication would have been opened between them and their brethren in the county of Carlow.

Not till after the engagement was concluded, a reinforcement arrived from Clonnegall, two miles and a half distant, under command of lieutenant Young, of the Donegal militia, who had been ordered to march immediately to Newtown-barry; but who had thought proper to delay two hours in the execution of four suspicious persons, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of many most respectable inhabitants, and of lieutenant Holmes Justice, an officer of the North Cork, who believed the sufferers to be innocent. Even after this heroic executioner, whose superior discernment could thus detect and punish guilt, though perhaps she had not betrayed herself by a look, word, action, or even thought, did set out, he chose a circuitous route, upwards of double the distance of the straight road; which brought upon him the *ill-natured* reflections of many persons, doubtless eminently deficient in that *prudence* so necessary in *hazardous* cases, that the lieutenant was neither ambitious of sharing in the honour of a victory, nor willing to risk his person amidst the disastrous consequences of a defeat. To such evil-minded persons this redoubtable lieutenant might have replied in the words of Fingal to his celebrated son, Ossian,

“ Never seek the battle, nor shun it when it comes.”

OSSIAN'S POEMS.

This gentleman, moreover, distinguished himself by a superabundant care of the soldiery under his command; having, on his arrival at Clonnegall, not only insisted that his men should be comfortably situated in every other respect, but that they should be accommodated with *feather beds*, for which purpose several loyal persons were turned out of their own beds by his orders! To the remonstrances of other officers, not so skilful in the exercise of authority as himself, he used courageously to

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reply, "*I am commanding officer, and damn the croppies.*" After his departure to Newtown-barry, this gentleman never returned to Clonnegall, in consequence of which the town remained under the command of that truly respectable officer, lieutenant Justice, who preserved so strict an attention to discipline, that, though Clonnegall is in the immediate vicinity of Carnew, it was defended with such intrepidity as never to fall into the hands of the enemy. In the action at Newtown-barry, two cart loads of ammunition, &c. were taken.

"Hills of a commanding prospect were always chosen by the rebels for their stations or posts. These posts they termed camps, though they were destitute of tents, except a few for their chiefs; and the people remained in the open air in vast multitudes, men and women promiscuously, some lying covered with blankets at night, and some without other covering than the clothes which they wore in the day. This mode of warfare was favoured by an uninterrupted continuance of dry and warm weather, to such a length of time as is very unusual in Ireland in that season, or any season of the year. This was regarded by the rebels as a particular interposition of Providence in their favour; and some among them are said to have declared, in a prophetic tone, that not a drop of rain was to fall until they should be masters of all Ireland. On the other hand, the same was considered by the fugitive loyalists as a merciful favour of Heaven, since bad weather must have miserably augmented their distress, and have caused many to perish. In these encampments or stations, among such crowds of riotous undisciplined men, under no regular authority, the greatest disorder must be supposed to have prevailed. Often when a rebel was in a sound sleep in the night, he was robbed by some associate of his gun, or some other article at that time valuable: to sleep flat on the belly, with the hat and shoes tied under the breast, for the prevention of stealth, was a custom with many. They were in nothing more irregular than in the cooking of provisions, many of them cutting pieces at random out of cattle scarcely dead, without waiting to flay them, and roasting those pieces on the points of their pikes, together with the parts of the hide which belonged to them. The heads of the cattle were seldom eaten, but generally left to rot on the surface of the

ground; and so were often large parts of the carcasses, after many pieces had been cut from them: which practice might in a short time have caused a pestilence.

"The station which the rebels chose, when they bent their force towards Gorey, was the hill of Corrigrua, seven miles towards the south-west from that town. A body of above a thousand, some say four thousand, detached from this post, took possession of the little village of Ballycannow, four miles from Gorey, to the south, on the evening of the first of June, and were advancing to fix their station on the hill of Ballymanaan, mid-way between the above-named village and town, when they were met near the village by the garrison of Gorey, who had marched to stop their progress. Having returned home the preceding day with my family from Arklow, I happened to be at that time on the road near Gorey, when a man on the top of a house cried out to me that all the country to the south was in a blaze; for straggling parties of the rebels attending the motions of the main body, had as usual set fire to many houses. I had hardly got a view of the conflagration, when I heard a discharge of musketry, which continued some time without intermission. Since I have learned the particulars of this engagement, I consider it, though small and unnoticed, as one of the most brilliant of the croppy war.

"The little army which had marched from Gorey on this occasion, consisted of twenty of the Antrim militia, under lieutenant Elliot, who directed the movements of the whole; twenty of the North-Cork; about fifty yeomen infantry, including supplementary men; and three troops of yeoman cavalry, the last of whom, I mean all the cavalry, were useless in battle. As the rebels had not procured accurate intelligence, and as troops from Dublin had been some days expected, the cloud of dust, excited by the little army of Gorey, caused them to imagine that a formidable force was coming against them. Under this persuasion, they disposed not themselves to the best advantage, for they might easily have surrounded and destroyed the little band opposed to them. They attempted it however in a disorderly manner; but so regular and steady a fire was maintained by the militia, particularly the Antrim, that the half-disciplined supplementals of the yeomen, encouraged thereby, behaved with equal

steadiness; and such was the effect, that the rebels were totally routed, and fled in the utmost confusion in all directions. The yeomen cavalry, notwithstanding repeated orders from lieutenant Elliot, delayed too long, through mistake of one of their officers, to pursue the runaways, otherwise a great slaughter might have been made. The victorious band advancing, fired some houses in Ballycannow, and spread such a terror, that no attempt was made against them from the post of Corrigrua; so that they returned safely to Gorey, with above a hundred captive horses and other spoil.

“In this engagement, and all others in the beginning of the rebellion, the rebels elevated their guns too much for execution, so that only three loyalists were wounded, none killed. The number of slain on the opposite side was probably about sixty, perhaps near a hundred. Many fine horses, which the routed party was obliged to leave behind, were by them killed or maimed, that they might be rendered useless. The hardiness and agility of the labouring classes of the Irish were on this, and other occasions in the course of the rebellion, very remarkable. Their swiftness of foot, and activity in passing over brooks and ditches, were such that they could not always in crossing the fields be overtaken by horsemen; and with so much strength of constitution were they found to be endued, that to kill them was difficult, many, after a multitude of stabs, not expiring till their necks were cut across. In fact, the number of persons who in the various battles, massacres, and skirmishes of this war, were shot through the body, and recovered of their wounds, has greatly surprised me. A small occurrence after the battle, of which a son of mine was a witness, may help to illustrate the state of the country at that time:—Two yeomen coming to a brake or clump of bushes, and observing a small motion as if some persons were hiding there, one of them fired into it, and the shot was answered by a most piteous and loud screech of a child. The other yeoman was then urged by his companion to fire; but he being a gentleman, and less ferocious, instead of firing, commanded the concealed persons to appear when a poor woman and eight children, almost naked, one of whom was severely wounded, came trembling from the brake, where they had secreted themselves for safety.

“Disappointed by the defeat at Ballycannow, of taking post on Ballymanaan-hill on the first of June, and of advancing thence to Gorey on the second, the rebel army on Corrigrua-hill remained in that station till the fourth. Meantime the long and anxiously expected army under major-general Loftus arrived in Gorey. The sight of fifteen hundred fine troops, with five pieces of artillery, filled every loyal breast with confidence, insomuch that not a doubt was entertained of the immediate and total dispersion of the rebels. The plan was to march the army in two divisions, by two different roads, to the post of Corrigrua, and to attack the enemy with combined forces, in which attack they expected the co-operation of some other troops. But while this arrangement was made, on the fourth of June, by the army, the rebels were preparing to quit Corrigrua, and to march to Gorey; for by a letter from Gorey to a priest named Philip Roche, then in bed in the house of Richard Donovan, Esq. of Ballymore, at the foot of the above-mentioned hill, information was received by the rebel chiefs, about one o’clock in the morning, of the intended motions of the army. The publicity of the adopted plan of operations, by which the disaffected in the town were enabled to give this information to the enemy, was probably occasioned by the imprudence of colonel Walpole, who claimed an independent and discretionary command. Intelligence of the plan of the rebels march was carried to the army with the most eager dispatch, by a respectable farmer called Thomas Dowling, who made application to several officers, all of whom despised his information, and some threatened him with imprisonment if he should not cease his *nonsense*.—The army began its march in two divisions, according to the above plan, about the same time that the rebels began theirs in one body. The latter were met nearly mid-way between Gorey and Corrigrua by the division under colonel Walpole—a gentleman much more fit for the place of a courtier than that of a military leader. As no scouts nor flanking parties were employed by this commander, he knew nothing of the approach of the enemy until he actually saw them, at the distance of a few yards, advancing on him in a place called Tubberneering. Walpole seems not to have been deficient in courage. The action

commenced in a confused manner. The rebels poured a tremendous fire from the fields on both sides of the road, and he received a ball through the head in a few minutes. His troops fled in the utmost disorder, leaving their cannon, consisting of two six-pounders and a smaller piece, in the hands of the enemy. They were pursued as far as Gorey, in their flight through which, they were galled by a fire of guns from some of the houses, where some rebels had taken their station. The unfortunate loyalists of Gorey, who a few minutes before had thought themselves perfectly secure, fled, as many as could escape, to Arklow with the routed army, leaving all their effects behind.

“While Walpole’s division was engaged with the enemy, general Loftus, marching by a different road, that of Ballycanow, and hearing the noise of battle, detached seventy men, the grenadier company of the Antrim militia, across the fields to its assistance. This body was intercepted by the rebels, who were in pursuit of the routed army, and almost all killed or taken; and as near forty men of Walpole’s division were lost, the detriment on the whole amount was considerable. Meanwhile the general, ignorant of the colonel’s fate, and unable to bring his artillery across the fields, continued his march along the highway, and coming round by a long circuit to the field of battle, was at last made acquainted with the event. He then followed the march of the rebels towards Gorey, and coming within view of them, found them posted on Gorey-hill, a commanding eminence, at the foot of which the town is built. Convinced that he could neither attack them in their post with any prospect of success, nor pass by them into the town without great hazard, he retreated to Carnew, and in his retreat was saluted with a fire of the artillery of the rebels from the top of the hill, whither they had, by strength of men, drawn the cannon taken from Walpole’s troops, beside some pieces brought from Wexford. Thinking Carnew an unsafe post, though the gentlemen of that neighbourhood thought, and still think, quite otherwise, as he was there at the head of twelve hundred effective men, he abandoned that part of the country to the rebels, and retreated nine miles farther, to the town of Tullow, in the county of Carlow.”

Had the insurgents followed up this signal advantage, and proceeded immediately to Arklow and Wicklow, those towns must inevitably have yielded to their victorious arms; and thus they would have opened a passage to the metropolis:—But instead of acting on this occasion with that celerity so necessary in their then posture of affairs, they lost five days in the plunder of Gorey and its vicinity, destroying at the same time the church, and the two elegant seats of Messrs Rams at Clonaltin and Ramsfort.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE body of rebels under Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, destined to attack Ross, who had encamped on Carrickbyrne-hill, were in the meantime acquiring a great increase of numbers. They continued in their encampment four days, during which period parties were dispatched throughout the adjacent country to bring in loyalists, who were tried by a court-martial. Several of these were executed on the first of June. Others were imprisoned in the house and barn of Mr. King of Scullabogue under Carrickbyrne-hill.

On the fourth of June, Harvey moved to Corbet-hill, one mile from Ross, which he was determined to attack with his whole force on the following morning, leaving at Carrickbyrne a strong guard of three hundred men, under Father John Murphy. The rebel force amounted to about twenty thousand men. The garrison, consisting of about twelve hundred effective men, commanded by general Johnson, together with one hundred and fifty yeomen, continued under arms all night. About four in the morning, Bagenal Harvey, confident of success, but at the same time eager to save the effusion of blood, sent a Mr. Furlong with a flag of truce to summon the garrison to surrender. This gentleman was most imprudently shot; a practice, amongst many others *equally* laudable, too common with the military officers during the rebellion. This, of all their actions, however, was certainly the most culpable. Without entering into any discussion on the *right* or *wrong* principles by which

the leaders of rebellion were induced to take arms against the government, certainly there can be no impropriety in saying that persons sent with proposals from them ought to have been held sacred. Loyalists, who had the misfortune to be taken by the rebels, and compelled to accompany them, were deterred from attempting to escape to any royal troops, which they might often have done, lest they should be mistaken for rebel messengers, and put to death before they could make themselves known. For the same reason such rebels as might be inclined to return to their allegiance were withheld from taking a step so salutary. Besides, might not a whole body of insurgents by communications of this kind have offered to lay down their arms? The rebels, also, treated in this manner, must have been rendered doubly ferocious, and considering themselves as devoted to destruction should they fail in their enterprise, be driven by desperation to retaliate with signal vengeance on the unhappy loyalists who were so unfortunate as to fall into their possession. On the person of Furlong was found the summons, which was couched as follows :

Summons to the Commander of the Garrison of Ross.

“ Sir,—As a friend to humanity, I request you will surrender the town of Ross to the Wexford forces, now assembled against that town. Your resistance will but provoke rapine and plunder to the ruin of the most innocent. Flushed with victory, the Wexford forces, now innumerable and irresistible, will not be controled if they meet with resistance. To prevent, therefore, the total ruin of all property in the town, I urge you to a speedy surrender, which you will be forced to in a few hours, with loss and bloodshed, as you are surrounded on all sides. Your answer is required in four hours. Mr. Furlong carries this letter, and will bring the answer.

I am, Sir,

B. B. HARVEY,

General, commanding, &c. &c.

Camp at Corbet-hill, half }
past three o'clock, morn- }
ing, June 5, 1798.

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Harvey had formed a plan for the attack on three parts of the town at once, which in all probability would have succeeded if put in execution. After dispatching Furlong with the summons, however, while he was busily employed in arranging the troops for the assault, a very galling fire was kept up by the outposts of the garrison. To disperse the troops who gave this annoyance, he ordered one Kelly, a young man of the most intrepid courage, to put himself at the head of five hundred men and attack them. In pursuance of this order, which he executed with precision, he was followed in a confused manner by many more of the insurgents than he had occasion for. These, instead of returning to the main body after driving in the outposts, as they had been ordered, elated with success, rushed with impetuosity into the town, drove back the cavalry upon the infantry, and seemed to have been for some time complete masters of it, into which, following the successful career of their companions, crowds from the hill entered with tremendous shouts. From an idea that the victory was already decisive in favour of the rebels, several officers of the garrison immediately retreated to Waterford. The rebels were prevented from penetrating into the centre of the town by the Dublin and Donegal militia, stationed at the market-house and a place called Fairgate, where they firmly maintained their posts; while general Johnson and a merchant named M'Cormick, a man of lofty stature and great courage, distinguished during the whole action in the hottest parts of the engagement by a brazen helmet, and who had served some time in the army, were labouring with the utmost assiduity to rally and animate the discomfited troops, who had fled across the river to the Kilkenny side. They were again brought back to action, when a most desperate engagement was maintained, with the greatest resolution on both sides, for ten hours. The rebels had already fired a number of houses, as at Enniscorthy, and were pushing with vigour for the bridge. General Johnson on this planted several guns at the lanes leading from Church-lane and Neville-street, and one at the old market place where he for some time stationed himself. These did dreadful execution. Whole ranks were mowed down at once; but such was the resolution of the assailants that fresh men constantly presented themselves with

renovated ardour, filling up the gaps, and seemingly, by approaching within a few yards of the guns, courting the fate they met with. One man in particular, with an undaunted courage perhaps never equalled, rushed forward, clapped his hand upon a cannon, and stuffing into her his hat and wig, as far as his arm could reach, called out to his associates, "Blood-and-ounds! "come on boys! her mouth is stopt." At that instant the gunner applied the match, when this illiterate and unfortunate hero was blown to atoms. Thrice were the rebels driven to the outskirts of the town with dreadful slaughter, and as often, rallied by their leaders, were they brought back again, recovering some ground each time. At length, however, they were repulsed, after the most obstinate and bloody battle during the course of the croppy war. The loss of the rebels exceeded one thousand men. That of the military was about two hundred, among whom was lord Mountjoy, colonel of the county of Dublin militia, and cornet Ladwell of the 5th dragoons. General Johnson had two horses killed under him. The rebels left fourteen swivel guns and four cannon on ship carriages behind them, which were taken by the royal army.

Besides the irregular manner in which this attack was made (Harvey's plan being totally neglected,) perhaps not above five thousand of the rebels descended from Corbet-hill to share in the action; and many, as soon as the engagement commenced, fled home, and gave exulting accounts of the success of the day, which they fancied was inevitable. An artillery-man, a prisoner, who had been attached to one of the rebel cannons, was ordered to level her, and threatened with death should he not do properly what they termed his duty. He aimed too high, which, whether he acted, in such a situation, properly or not, was instantly rewarded with death. The following account, though considerably exaggerated, given by a military man, of the battle, we insert, as it contains a pretty adequate idea of the general tumult and horror of the scene.

"The advanced rebels drove before them a number of cattle, to throw our army into confusion, which was in some measure prevented, by a few discharges of grape-shot. The action commenced by the 4th flank battalion; indeed such a close well-directed fire I never saw, being an idle spectator for

upwards of two hours and a half. About seven o'clock the army began to retreat in every direction. I commanded a six-pounder field-piece. The rebels came pouring into the town like a flood, and human blood began to flow down the streets. Though hundreds were blown to pieces by our grape-shot, yet thousands behind them, being intoxicated with drinking during the night, and void of fear, rushed upon us, as if courting their fate. The cavalry were now ordered to make a charge through them, when a terrible carnage ensued; they were cut down like grass; but the pikemen being called to the front, and our swords being too short to reach them, obliged our horse to retreat, which put us in some confusion. We kept up the action till about half past eight; which was maintained with such obstinacy on both sides, that it was doubtful who would keep the field. They then began to burn and destroy the town, it was on fire in many places in about fifteen minutes. By this time the rebels advanced as far as the main-guard, where there was a most bloody conflict, with the assistance of two ship guns placed in the street, they killed a great number of them, and beat them back for some time. The Dublin county regiment, headed by their colonel, made another attack on the rebels; the action being now revived in all quarters of the town with double fury, many heroes fell, and among them the brave Mountjoy, which so exasperated his regiment, that they fought like furies—now indeed was the scene bloody. Our forces the third time being overpowered, by the weight of such a body pouring down upon us, we retreated beyond the bridge, when General Johnson came galloping up crying “soldiers, I will lay my bones this day in Ross, will you let me lie alone?”

“Major Vessey, of the Dublin county, the next in command to Lord Mountjoy, led his men over the bridge again, exhorting them to revenge, for the loss of their colonel. The whole brigade (except some who fled to Waterford) being led on by general Johnson, (as brave a commander as ever drew a sword,) were determined to take the town, to conquer or to die. Again we opened a tremendous fire on the rebels, which was as fiercely returned. We re-took the cannon which was taken from the king's forces in a former engagement, and turned them on the rebels. The gun I commanded being called to the

main-guard, shocking was it to see the dreadful carnage that was there, it continued for half an hour, it was obstinate and bloody the thundering of cannon shook the town, the windows were shivered in pieces with the dreadful concussion; I believe there were five hundred bodies lying in the main-street. The rebels were so desperate that they frequently came within a few yards of our guns.

“The action was doubtful from four in the morning, till four in the afternoon, when the rebels gave way in every quarter, and shortly after fled precipitately in every direction, leaving behind them all their cannon, baggage, provisions, wine, whiskey, brandy, &c. It was past five before we finally routed them; when they made the best of their way to Carrickbyrne. As nearly as can be computed, the rebels had two thousand six hundred killed, and a great number wounded, and a great number mortally. I know soldiers who fired one hundred and twenty rounds of ball cartridge, and I fired twenty-one rounds of cannister shot, with the field-piece I commanded.”

On the morning after the engagement the town presented a most hideous spectacle. Upwards of four hundred houses were consumed, and a multitude of dead bodies were lying in the streets. The greater part of these were thrown into a gravel pit and covered over, or precipitated into the river, where they were carried off by the tide.

Had the insurgents succeeded in obtaining possession of Ross, the whole province of Munster would have risen in rebellion, as messengers were ready to be dispatched from Waterford, to summon the people of the south to appear in arms.

Early in the morning of the fifth of June, one of the rebels, who had in a cowardly manner fled from the battle of Ross, came galloping to Scullabogue, where the protestant prisoners, as already observed, were confined; and declaring that the garrison of Ross were massacring the catholics, feigned an order from general Harvey to put the loyalists to death. As John Murphy, who commanded the guard, wished to save the prisoners, he strenuously declared that not a man of them should be touched without written orders from the general himself. About an hour afterwards, another rebel arrived, exclaiming “Our friends are all destroyed at Ross!—Murder

the prisoners !” Still Murphy would not suffer them to be injured. About ten o’clock, however, a third arrived ; saying, “ The priest has sent orders to put all the prisoners to death.” On this the guard immediately stripped off their coats, considering it impiety to delay a moment in executing the sacerdotal mandate. After the usual ceremony of crossing and blessing themselves before executions, they parted into two divisions, one proceeding to the barn, into which one hundred and eighty-four persons had been crammed, the other to Mr. King’s house, where were confined thirty-seven persons, who were shot or killed by pikes before the hall door. The execrable scene which took place at the barn was horrible beyond description, and is a melancholy example of the pernicious effects of religious bigotry, and an intolerant spirit on the human mind. The executioners having mounted the walls of the barn by ladders, and having set fire to the thatched roof, the miserable prisoners rushed to the back door, which their united weight burst open. Here, however, they were received by the rebels, who pushed them again into the flames with their pikes, discharged their pieces amongst them, and introduced at the same time bundles of lighted straw. One unfortunate woman, widow to a North-Cork militia-man who had been slain at Oulart, having her child in her arms, with all the wretchedness and anxiety of a mother, wrapped it in her cloak and threw it among the rebels, in the vain hope that they would respect its tender age. An inhuman monster stuck it on his pike, and with a diabolical execration, tossed it into the fire. Another child by some means had crept out of the barn, and hiding along the wall behind the door, lay there concealed till the massacre was completed: when at length, fatally discovered, it was pierced through the body, and expired in convulsions. Twenty women and children in all were inclosed in the barn : in which there were also fifteen Romanists, one of whom was father Shallow’s clerk. On the ninth of June the skeletons were cleared out of the barn, thrown into a hole, and slightly covered with sods.

After the defeat at Ross, Bagenal Harvey re-occupied, on the same night, his former station on Carrickbyrne, in the greatest distress and anxiety of mind. On the morning of the sixth, this humane leader was shocked by intelligence of the

massacre at Scullabogue, and of the other atrocious actions of the rebels. To put a stop if possible to those iniquitous proceedings, he immediately issued the following severe proclamation:—

*General Orders issued in consequence of the Defeat at Ross,
and the Massacre at Scullabogue.*

At a meeting of the general and several officers of the united army of the county of Wexford, the following resolutions were agreed upon:—

“Resolved, that the commander in chief shall send guards to certain baronies, for the purpose of bringing in all men they shall find loitering and delaying at home or elsewhere; and if any resistance be given to those guards, so to be sent by the commanding officer’s orders, it is our desire and orders, that such persons so giving resistance shall be liable to be put to death by the guards, who are to bear a commission for that purpose; and all such persons found to be so loitering and delaying at home, when brought in by the guards, shall be tried by a court-martial, appointed and chosen from among the commanders of all the different corps, and be punished with death.

“Resolved, that all officers shall immediately repair to their respective quarters, and remain with their different corps, and not to depart therefrom under pain of death; unless authorised to quit by written orders from the commander in chief for that purpose.

“It is also ordered, that a guard shall be kept in the rear of the different armies, with orders to shoot all persons who shall fly or desert from any engagement; and that these orders shall be taken notice of by all officers commanding such engagement.

“All men refusing to obey their superior officers, to be tried by a court-martial, and punished according to their sentence.

“It is also ordered, that all men who shall attempt to leave their respective quarters, when they have been halted by the

commander in chief, shall suffer death ; unless they shall have leave from their officers for so doing.

“ It is ordered by the commander in chief, that all persons who have stolen or taken away any horse, or horses, shall immediately bring in all such horses to the camp, at head-quarters ; otherwise for any horse that shall be seen or found in the possession of any person to whom he does not belong, that person shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death :—

“ And any goods that shall have been plundered from any house, if not brought into head-quarters, or returned immediately to the houses or owners, that all persons so plundering as aforesaid, shall, on being convicted thereof, suffer death.

“ It is also resolved, that any person or persons who shall take upon them to kill or murder any person or prisoner, burn any house, or commit any plunder, without special written orders from the commander in chief, shall suffer death.

By order of

B. B. HARVEY, Commander in chief,
FRANCIS BREEN, Sec. and Adj.

Head-quarters, Carrickburn camp,
June 6, 1798.

With the same laudable intention was also issued the following proclamation :—

To the People of Ireland.

“ Countrymen and fellow-soldiers !

“ Your patriotic exertions in the cause of your country have hitherto exceeded your most sanguine expectations, and in a short time must ultimately be crowned with success. Liberty has raised her drooping head : thousands daily flock to her standard : the voice of her children every where prevails. Let us then, in the moment of triumph, return thanks to the Almighty Ruler of the Universe, that a total stop has been put to those sanguinary measures which of late were but too often resorted to by the creatures of government, to keep the people in slavery.

“ Nothing now, my countrymen, appears necessary to secure the conquests you have so bravely won, but an implicit obedi-

ence to the commands of your chiefs; for through a want of proper subordination and discipline, all may be endangered.

“ At this eventful period, all Europe must admire, and posterity will read with astonishment, the heroic acts achieved by people strangers to military tactics, and having few professional commanders: but what power can resist men fighting for liberty !

“ In the moment of triumph, my countrymen, let not your victories be tarnished with any wanton act of cruelty. Many of those unfortunate men in prison were not your enemies from principle: most of them compelled by necessity, were obliged to oppose you: neither let a difference in religious sentiments cause a difference among the people. Recur to the debates in the Irish house of lords of the 19th of February last: you will there see a patriotic and enlightened protestant bishop, with manly eloquence, pleading for catholic emancipation and parliamentary reform, in opposition to the haughty arguments of the lord chancellor, and the powerful opposition of his fellow-courtiers.

“ To promote a union of brotherhood and affection among our countrymen of all religious persuasions, has been our principal object: we have sworn in the most solemn manner, have associated for this laudable purpose, and no power on earth shall shake our resolution.

“ To my protestant soldiers, I feel much indebted for their gallant behaviour in the field, where they exhibited signal proofs of bravery in the cause.

“ EDWARD ROCHE.”

Wexford, June 7th, 1798.

These proclamations had not the desired effect; and Harvey appears consequently to have sunk into a state of horror and dejection. The following letter, in answer to a request from Mr. Francis Glascott, for his protection, will best shew the state of this unfortunate gentleman's mind, who had resigned a command which was nothing more than nominal, and afterwards retiring to Wexford, was appointed president of the council, which consisted

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of a few leading members of the lately-erected republic, entrusted with the regulation of its affairs :

“ Dear Sir,

“ I received your letter ; but what to do for you I know not. I from my heart wish to protect all property ; I can scarce protect myself ; and indeed my situation is much to be pitied, and distressing to myself. I took my present situation in hopes of doing good, and preventing mischief ; my trust is in Providence : I acted always an honest disinterested part ; and had my advice been taken by those in power, the present mischief would never have arisen. If I can retire to a private station again, I will immediately. Mr. Tottenham’s refusing to speak to the gentleman I sent into Ross, who was madly shot by the soldiers, was very unfortunate : it has set the people mad with rage, and there is no restraining them. The person I sent in had private instructions to propose a reconciliation ; but God knows where this business will end ; but end how it will, the good men of both parties will be inevitably ruined.

“ I am, with respect, yours, &c.

June 8, 1798.

“ B. B. HARVEY.”

On the ninth of June, the rebel camp was removed from Carryckbyrne to Syleeve-keelter, a hill which rises over the river of Ross, formed by the junction of the rivers Nore and Barrow. They seem to have taken this post with a view of intercepting the navigation of the channel between Waterford, Ross, and Duncannon-fort, in which they partly succeeded ; for though they were repulsed in their attempts to take some gun-boats, yet they compelled several small vessels to surrender ; in one of which was a mail, the letters and newspapers in which contained much intelligence concerning the state of the rest of the kingdom. At Syleeve-keelter, father Philip Roche, who had been a leader at the battle of Tubberneering, was tumultuously elected commander in chief, in the place of Bagenal Harvey. Under their new commander, the rebel army again moved, and occupied the hill of Lacken, where they formed their encampment with much more regularity

than usual, and erected a number of tents for the accommodation of the officers. A detachment was sent from hence, on the twelfth, to attack the town of Borris, in the county of Carlow, twelve miles distant, for the purpose of procuring arms and ammunition, but was repulsed by the garrison with the loss of about twenty men. The garrison, who had posted themselves in the house of Mr. Cavenagh, had only one killed. The town was partly burned.

CHAPTER IX.

DURING the five days the rebels were encamped on Gorey-hill, a number of atrocities were committed. They then began to think they had wasted too much time, knowing that if they could gain Arklow, it would open a communication with the Wicklow and Kildare rebels, and that an attack might be made on the metropolis soon after; they therefore resolved to try their strength on that town, for which purpose messengers were sent to the different encampments at Wexford and Vinegar-hill, ordering all persons to repair to the camp at Gorey-hill immediately.

On the eighth of June, the rebel picquet saw a party of the king's army reconnoitering at Coolgreny, and instantly returned with information that the king's troops were advancing against the town. In consequence of this, the prisoners, twenty-one in number, were ordered to be murdered; but Bagenal Harvey's proclamation arrived in time to save their lives.

Early in the morning of the ninth of June, the rebel camp was crowded from all quarters, and masses were celebrated. As they were not allowed to murder the prisoners, they made caps of brown paper and coarse linen, melted pitch and be-smearred the inside of them, and put them on the prisoner's heads.

About twelve o'clock the rebels, to the number of twenty-six thousand, of whom near five thousand were armed with

guns, the rest with pikes, with three pieces of artillery, marched for Arklow, under the command of Anthony Perry, who had appointed Esmond Kyan captain of the artillery. When they had arrived within two miles of Arklow, they were ordered to halt by one of their officers. Those who were armed with guns, were ordered to the front, and the pikemen were placed in the rear. These arrangements being made, and the plan of attack agreed upon, they were ordered to advance; but they evinced the most disorderly disposition imaginable; for their officers were obliged to drive them on before them, and in this manner they proceeded towards Arklow.

If the rebels had made their appearance two days before, they would, in all probability, have carried the town; but fortunately the garrison was reinforced that morning by the Durham fencibles, a brave and well-disciplined regiment, which strengthened it, and quieted the fears of the inhabitants.

General Needham, the commander in chief of the garrison, was quartered at the house of Mr. O'Neill in Arklow, where he had ordered a great breakfast for him and his guests. Two officers belonging to the Durham regiment happened to be passing by the house, and were mistaken by a servant, and informed that breakfast was ready for them and their associates. This intelligence being communicated, the Durham officers immediately repaired to the house and devoured the whole breakfast. Captain Wallington remaining behind the rest, assembled about him the drivers of the carriages in which the regiment had travelled from Dublin, to pay them their dues. The general at length arrived with his guests, and was astonished when he found his lodgings occupied with a crowd of wrangling coachmen; but soon being informed of the fate of his breakfast, he burst into a rage and drove out the intruders with such fury, that they, with their paymaster, tumbled one over another in the street, in their haste to escape.

The garrison then consisted of detachments of the fourth and fifth dragoon guards; the Ancient British fencible cavalry; a small detachment of the Royal Irish artillery; the Durham fencible infantry; the Cavan battalion; detachments of the Armagh, Antrim, North-Cork, and Londonderry militia; the North and South Arklow cavalry; the Camolin, Gorey, Coolgreney, and

Castletown cavalry; and a number of loyalists in coloured clothes, making in the whole upwards of fifteen hundred men.

At two o'clock in the afternoon, information was received that the rebels were advancing towards the town. The drums immediately beat to arms, and the troops repaired to their different stations, and every preparation was made to meet the enemy.

The Cavan battalion, with some yeomen infantry, under colonel Maxwell, extended from the centre of the town to the Fishery; on the left was the sea; on the right the Durham regiment was drawn in front of their encampment, with two field pieces; detachments of the Armagh and others were placed on the right of the Durham; and the Antrim with other detachments and all the loyalists were stationed in the barrack. The cavalry were placed beyond the bridge, on the Dublin road.

The rebels endeavoured to surround the army, and by that means to have overpowered it by their great superiority of numbers; but the excellent disposition of the king's forces, sufficiently convinced them of the impracticability of that measure. When they had advanced as far as the charter school, captain Elliot, who was posted there, retreated into the town, on which the rebels drew their cannon to the right, on an eminence that commands the town. The Dunbarton fencibles were then ordered out in front of the Armagh, to line the hedges on each side of the road, where the rebels were advancing. A smart fire was maintained between the Dunbartons and the rebels for some time, when the former were ordered to retreat and join the Armagh, which they accomplished. The rebels then set fire to different parts of the town, to annoy the army with the smoke; but the wind shifted and drove it on themselves. On the retreat being sounded, the rebels pursued, and sent forth most dreadful yells, and one of their officers, waving his hat, called out, "Come on, my boys, the town is our own." At that instant his horse was shot and himself wounded, on which he fell as if killed. A short time after he was observed by some of the soldiers and shot dead. The rebels followed him, but on receiving a well-directed fire of musketry and grape-shot, they fell back a considerable distance. They then extended a long line in front of the Durham regiment, but in a confused manner, endeavour-

ing to turn their left flank ; but the Durhams keeping up a constant and well-directed fire, they were unable to accomplish it. Some of the rebels, armed with muskets, getting behind hedges, annoyed the army considerably, and their artillery also played briskly on the town ; but sergeant Shepherd of the Royal Irish artillery, who was taken prisoner at the Three-rocks and compelled to serve in the rebel army, elevated their guns so high that the balls fell on the other side of the town. At one time he loaded with grape-shot, and turning the gun a little on one side, killed and wounded several of the rebels. One of their officers observing this, galloped up and would have instantly killed Shepherd, had not Kyan, the captain of artillery, interposed and insisted that it was the cannon of the king's army which did the execution. He was then ordered to load with ball and batter the town ; but at every opportunity he loaded with grape-shot, knowing it could do no injury. Two of the rebel officers then rode towards the town, to observe the execution of the cannon, and finding that Shepherd was not favouring their cause, returned and informed Kyan of it, on which he levelled the cannon himself, and one of them with such fatal precision, that the ball struck the carriage of one of the Durham field-pieces, shivered it to atoms, and killed four men : another ball struck the top of a house in the town and did some damage. All this time the royal army was playing upon them with good effect, having killed and wounded a considerable number.

Another body of the rebels made an attempt to gain the lower end of the town, and advanced by the sea side : but in that quarter they were received with great spirit by the Ancient British fencible cavalry, under Sir W. W. Wynne, who made a most desperate and successful charge upon them. They then proceeded in great force to a road that led to the middle of the town, and made a desperate effort to enter it in that direction ; but a sergeant and twelve men who were stationed in the market-house, kept up so constant and effectual a fire that they were obliged to fall back with the loss of many men. A body of them also attempted to ford the river, but this pass was well defended, and they were obliged to relinquish it.

Father Murphy, of Ballycannow, was not in the beginning of the action, having stopped at Coolgreny. When he was com-

ing to the attack, he met a number of rebels retreating : driving them back again to the battle, he assured them that he could defeat the king's army even with the dust of the road. When he came into the engagement, he shewed the rebels some musket balls, which he said he had caught in his hands as they flew from the guns of the enemy. Father Murphy, however, after many escapes, fell himself by a cannon shot, his bowels having been torn out, whilst waving a standard in his hand, and encouraging his men to press forward. The rebels who followed him, immediately retreated in great haste from that quarter, exclaiming as they went along " that the priest himself was " down ! "

The hottest part of the action was maintained by the Durham fencibles, commanded by colonel Skerret, to whose determined bravery the country is indebted for this victory. Colonel Maxwell and the Cavan battalion also acted in a most spirited manner, as did also the whole army engaged on that occasion.

The action commenced about four o'clock and continued till half past eight, when they retreated in confusion to Gorey. It was not thought prudent to pursue the retreating rebels, as it was then the close of the evening, otherwise it is most probable that a great slaughter must have ensued. The military stood under arms till four o'clock next morning, when they cast entrenchments round the camp, and remained in full expectation of another attack.

The loss of the Durham regiment was about twenty privates killed and wounded: that of the other regiments was very trifling, though they had been warmly engaged for a considerable time.

In this important action, the principal attempts of the enemy were directed against the Durham regiment ; and it was to the excellent discipline and steady valour of that fine body of men on that day, aided by the magnanimous conduct and military skill of their commander, colonel Skerret, that the British government was indebted for the suppression of the rebellion in that quarter. General Needham had wisely given discretionary authority to Colonel Skerret to act with his regiment according to the dictates of his own judgment. Intimidated by the formidable attacks of the rebels, the general, at one period of

the action, resolved on a retreat, which he would accordingly have put in practice, had not the colonel, when addressed on that subject, made the following noble reply: "We cannot hope for victory otherwise than by preserving our ranks; if we break all is lost; and from the spirit which I have seen displayed at this awful crisis by the Durham regiment, I can never bear the idea of its giving ground." Shortly after the retreat of the rebels commenced, the body of father Murphy being found, lord Mountnorris ordered the head to be struck off, and the trunk to be thrown into a burning house, exclaiming, "*Let his body go where his soul is!*" It is an unequivocal proof that ferocity was not confined to the rebels, but displayed itself indiscriminately in the acts of them and the loyalists, that after the head of Murphy was struck off, several of the Ancient British fencibles cut open his body and took out his heart. Afterwards, while the body lay roasting on a burning beam of timber, these very men received the dripping fat and greased their boots with it! Captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, was not ashamed to avow in the presence of several most respectable persons, that he had been concerned in this most scandalous act of brutality, and that he had assisted to break open the breast with an axe and to cut out the heart! At the time when father Murphy's body was found, the following journal, supposed to have been written by one Bulger, who attended father Murphy of Boulavogue, as aid-de-camp, was also discovered:—

Father John Murphy's journal; found by captain Hugh Moore.

Saturday night, May 26, at 6 A. M. 1798.

"Began the republic of Ireland in Boulavogue, in the county of Wexford, barony of Gorey and parish of Kilcormuck, commanded by the reverend doctor Murphy, parish priest of the said parish, in the aforesaid parish, when all the protestants of that parish were disarmed, and amongst the aforesaid, a bigot, named Thomas Bookey, who lost his life by his rashness.

"From thence came to Oulart, a country village adjoining, when the republic attacked a minister's house for arms, and

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was denied of, laid siege immediately to it, and killed him and all his forces; the same day burned his house and all the orange-men's houses in that and all the adjoining parishes in that part of the country.

"The same day a part of the army, to the amount of one hundred and four of infantry and two troops of cavalry, attacked the republic on Oulart-hill, when the military were repulsed with the loss of one hundred and twelve men, and the republic four killed; and then went to a hill called Corrigrua, where the republic encamped that night, and from thence went to a town called Camolin, which was taken without resistance, and the same day took another town and the *state* of a bishop.* At three in the afternoon, the same day, they laid siege to Enniscorthy, when they were opposed by an army of seven hundred men, then they were forced to set both ends of the town on fire, and then took the town in the space of one hour, and then encamped on a hill near the town, called Vinegar-hill, where they remained that night.

BRYAN BULGER,

DARBY MURPHY, his hand and
pen, dated this 26th day of

"Orange men are men that formed alliance to kill and destroy all the catholics of this kingdom.

"GARET LACEY."

"28th. At three in the afternoon, which was Whitsun-Monday, they marched towards Wexford, and encamped on a hill that night called the Mountain."

* It alludes to the seat of the bishop of Ferns.

CHAPTER VII.

VINEGAR-Hill, the scene of so much slaughter, had been in the possession of the rebels above three weeks, during which time the loyalists of Enniscorthy and the surrounding country had been in a state of almost indescribable horror. They were every where seized; a few were butchered on the spot where they happened to fall into the hands of the rebels; but the greater number were carried to the camp on the hill; where upwards of four hundred received sentence by court-martial, and were either shot or destroyed by pikes. Some, after having been apparently killed, recovered strength sufficient to endeavour to escape; but these for the most part fell again into the hands of the rebels, and received the completion of their sufferings. The wonderful preservation of one man, however, Charles Davis, of Enniscorthy, glazier, appears to be particularly worthy of notice. This man, when the town was taken by the insurgents, justly apprehensive that no mercy would be shewn him as a loyalist, had concealed himself in a privy, where he remained some days without any other food than the body of a cock, which had accidentally perched on the seat. Impelled by the cravings of nature, however, when his provisions were exhausted, and disgusted with his loathsome abode, he at length ventured from his place of concealment, and endeavoured to escape. He was seized near the town, conveyed to Vinegar-hill, and received the sentence of a court-martial. Being led out to suffer death pursuant to his sentence, he was

shot through the body and also through one of the arms. As these wounds were not deemed sufficient to extinguish life, he received several severe thrusts from a pike on the head, without injuring the brain; and was then thrown into a hole upon his back, and covered over with earth and stones. Thus consigned to an untimely grave, the unfortunate man remained twelve hours in a state of insensibility, during which period his dog, a faithful animal that never left him, had scraped the covering off his face, and licked it clean from the filth and blood. Superstition—baleful superstition, which, maddened by fanaticism, conjointly with political animosity, had caused so many ruthless scenes of bloodshed and desolation in this unhappy country, was the means of saving this man's existence. He returned to life, his mind disordered by his sufferings, and dreaming that he was about to be murdered by pikemen, pronouncing emphatically the name of father Roche, by whose means he hoped to obtain a protection. Accidentally overheard by some catholics to pronounce that sacred name, they believed him to have been revived by the particular favour of heaven, that by being made a catholic by Roche, his soul might be saved from those eternal pains which they believed he would otherwise be condemned to endure. Thus impressed, they had him conveyed to a house and treated with such kindness and humanity, that he rapidly recovered, and at length apparently regained his perfect health. This instance of astonishing strength of constitution was by no means singular during the course of the rebellion. The surprising recoveries of many of the Irish peasantry, and the difficulty that was almost invariably found of putting an end to the being even of very old men, may be worthy of an inquiry no less curious than interesting.

At length, however, lieutenant-general Lake, commander in chief of the royal forces, made dispositions to expel the rebels from this hill (as we have already mentioned) which was so strongly fortified that the insurgents considered it impregnable. The troops destined to attack it amounted in all to upwards of thirteen thousand effective men, together with a formidable train of artillery, and were arranged in columns under several generals, with orders to attack the hill on all points at once, so as to prevent the escape of the rebels: a plan of attack which,

if it had been completely executed, would in all probability have been attended either with the complete surrendry of the enemy, or with such a slaughter as to have effectually disabled them from again taking the field. But this well-concerted attack was unfortunately frustrated by the delay of general Needham, who arrived not at his post till after the engagement, a circumstance which, together with several others of a like nature, and his late arrival to the breakfast devoured by the Durham officers,* procured him the appellation of the *late* general Needham. Except that commanded by this general, the different columns were at their respective posts when the attack commenced, at seven in the morning of the twenty-first of June, with a brisk discharge of cannon and mortars, which was kept up, together with that of the small arms for an hour and a half. When the firing commenced, the position of the right column was on a rising ground at the west end of Enniscorthy, having Vinegar-hill on the east. This column, covered by the fire of its own six-pounder, penetrated into the town, and vigorously attacked the insurgents posted there, who had advantageously placed themselves in the streets and houses. A party of the troops having advanced with one field-piece opposite to the court-house, were there overpowered by a numerous body of pikemen, who rushed from the building, and took possession of the gun. This gun, however, was shortly after re-taken by another division of the king's troops, with considerable slaughter of the enemy. The rebels at length abandoned the town, retreating to Vinegar-hill, the summit of which, however, had been cleared by the central column, which had formed on a rising ground on the north side, where the rebels had reared a breast work, before they could reach it, and their friends finding they could no longer keep possession, had retreated to another position on the east side, called the Lower hill. Having displayed the royal banners on the top of the wind-mill, in place of the standard of Rebellion, the kings troops turned thirteen pieces of cannon, which had been abandoned against the enemy. By the fire of these, and the resolution of the light brigade, they were thrown into confusion, when the cavalry

* See p. 229.

charged and put them completely to the rout. The slaughter must have been dreadful, had not general Needham's post been left open for their escape, through which, ludicrously termed *Needham's Gap*, most of them fled towards Wexford. The rebels lost about four hundred men, among whom was father Clinch of Enniscorthy, all their cannon, some ammunition, and an immense quantity of rich plunder. The loss on the royal side was very trifling, perhaps about one hundred killed, among whom was lieutenant Sandys of the Longford militia. Colonel King of the Sligo regiment, colonel Vesey of that of the county of Dublin, lord Blaney, and lieutenant-colonel Cole were among the wounded. A great many loyalists, who had been compelled to accompany the rebels, were indiscriminately slain in the pursuit. Amongst the excesses committed by the king's troops on the recovery of Enniscorthy, the burning of a house which had been used as an hospital, in which were sixteen of the insurgents who, by wounds or sickness were incapable of making their escape, is hardly inferior in atrocity to the massacre at Scullabogue.

"The town of Wexford was re-taken on the same day as Enniscorthy. The rebel army, which had been some time encamped on Lacken-hill, had been driven from it by the troops under general Johnson, on the nineteenth of June, and obliged to take post on the Three Rocks.

"The brigade under major-general Moore, which consisted of the second flank battalion, two companies of the sixtieth regiment, one troop of Hompesch's hussars, and a small train of artillery, took a direction to the right towards Fooke's mill, and encamped that night on the lawn of Mr. Henry Sutton, of Long Grague. The encampment was in front of the house, which was protected on both flanks and in the rear by a thick wood, out-buildings, &c.

"The following morning the rebels collected all their force, and marched from the Three Rocks to attack general Moore's brigade at long Grague. He ordered a strong detachment, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Wilkinson, to patrol towards Tintern and Clonmines, with a view to scour the country, and to communicate with the troops which general Johnson had ordered to join him from Duncannon-fort. Colonel Wil-

kinson returning without any intelligence of them, and despairing of their arrival, general Moore began his march to Taghmon, about three o'clock in the afternoon. The rebels were greatly reinforced in their march from the Three Rocks, so that their number exceeded six thousand. They marched on, boasting of their strength, and expressing a desire to be up with the king's troops. When general Moore had proceeded about half a mile on his road to Taghmon, he perceived the rebels advancing towards him. The general knowing their great superiority of numbers, immediately made preparations to receive them. Having disposed his force in the most judicious manner, he sent out an advanced guard, consisting of two companies of the sixtieth regiment to skirmish with them, whilst a six-pounder and a howitzer were drawn across the road to Goff's-bridge, where a few light infantry formed on each side of them under colonel Wilkinson. When the rebels came up they made an attack on these; but were served with such a tremendous fire of grape-shot and musketry, that they were obliged to retreat over the bridge in the greatest confusion. During this time, a great body of them moved towards the left wing; but majors Aylmer and Daniel, with five companies of light infantry and a six-pounder, were detached against them. The sixtieth regiment finding no opposition in front, immediately proceeded to the left, and attacked the body of rebels that was attempting to turn that wing. Here the engagement was very bloody. The rebels confiding in their numbers, and being so well armed with muskets and pikes, they made a most obstinate resistance. General Moore now began to be very doubtful who would keep the field, as a great part of his army could not come into the action, being obliged to guard the ammunition and baggage. A party of rebels observing the Hompesch's hussars coming down, with their green uniform, they thought that the hussars had been a party of their friends coming to assist them; but were soon convinced of their mistake, for they immediately made a great slaughter amongst them. The engagement began before four o'clock and continued till eight, when the rebels began to disperse, and soon after the greatest party of them retreated precipitately towards Enniscorthy and Wexford.

"The loss of the rebels could not be exactly ascertained, as the killed lay scattered over the fields for a considerable extent; but it must have been very great. Had the situation of the country admitted the cavalry to make a charge on them in their retreat, a great number more would have been killed.

"When the action was over, general Moore considered it too late to proceed to Taghmon, and therefore took post for the night upon the field of battle, where he was soon after reinforced by the second and twenty-ninth regiments, under the command of Lord Dalhousie. Here we shall leave them, and relate that dreadful event, the massacre on the bridge of Wexford.

"A general massacre of all the loyalist prisoners in Wexford was twice attempted by a bloody-minded fanatic called Thomas Dixon; who was first opposed by one Hore, and next by one Scallion, both of whom defied him to single combat, and insisted that he should shew himself a man before a single prisoner should be put to death. He however would not relinquish his bloody design, and on the nineteenth of June, the protestants were informed that all the prisoners would be put to death the following day. Accordingly, in the morning, Dixon, mounted on a tall white horse, rode up to the prison door, and swore that not a prisoner should be alive at sun-set. He then rode through several streets repeating the same. The town bell was soon after rung, and the drums beat to arms, for the purpose of assembling the rebels to join those at Three Rocks, and to march against the army under general Moore. About two o'clock in the afternoon, Dixon assembled the murdering band, and immediately displayed that woeful harbinger of death, the black flag; having upon one side a bloody cross, and on the other the letters M. W. S. inscribed upon it, which were supposed to mean murder without sin. After having made a long procession through the town, they fixed the flag on the custom-house quay, near the bridge. About four o'clock the butchery began: the prisoners were brought from the gaol and the prison-ship by a strong guard of these sanguinary miscreants, in parties of from ten to twenty, preceded by the black flag, to the bridge, where they were piked to death with circumstances of the most savage cruelty, and afterwards thrown into the river, to make

room for others. While they were thus infamously employed, a rebel officer, possessed of some humanity, went to Dr. Caulfield, the popish bishop, who was then drinking wine after dinner, and believing that he could stop the massacre sooner than any other person, earnestly intreated him to come and save the prisoners. The bishop, in an unconcerned manner replied, "It was not in his power to save them," and requested the captain to sit down and take a glass of wine with him, adding at the same time, that "the people must be gratified!" The officer refused the bishop's invitation, and walked away filled with abhorrence. All this time the inhuman pikemen were busily employed butchering the poor protestants on the bridge; some they would perforate in places not mortal, to increase their torture, others they thrust their pikes into the body, and raising it up, held it suspended, writhing in the extreme agony of pain, while any signs of life remained, and exulted in the deed. In the midst of this diabolical work, general Edward Roche, came galloping to the bridge, and ordered them to beat to arms, saying, "that Vinegar-hill was nearly surrounded by the king's troops, and that all should repair to the camp, as reinforcements were wanting." There was immediately a cry of "To camp! to camp!" and the rebels ran off in every direction. The bloody scene was instantly closed, and three of the prisoners were left on their knees on the bridge, who were so much stupified with terror that they did not make the least effort to escape. Soon after some of the rebel guard returned to the bridge, and conducted the prisoners back to the gaol; shortly after, the bloody monster, Thomas Dixon, returned and ordered out the remainder of the prisoners for execution, and the greater part of them were tortured and put to death in the same manner as the former. He then proceeded to the market-house, and ordered a party from thence to the bridge, and after butchering them, they returned and brought out ten more, whom they also most barbarously murdered. They then brought out eighteen, and while they were murdering them, Richard Monk, a rebel officer, came galloping into the town from Vinegar-hill, shouting, "D—n your souls, you vagabonds, why dont you go out and meet the enemy that are coming in, and not be murdering the prisoners in cold

"blood?" Some protestant women having asked him, "what news?" he replied, "the king's troops are encamped round Vinegar-hill." He then proceeded towards the convent, and seeing the women following him, he pulled out a pistol and swore that he would blow out their brains if they came any farther. Soon after, father Corrin was observed running towards the bridge: when he arrived there, they had murdered six men, out of the last party that was conveyed there. He immediately besought them to spare the remainder, and it was not without the greatest difficulty he prevailed upon them; for after using all the arguments he could, with no effect, he took off his hat, and desired them to kneel down and pray for the souls of the prisoners before they put any more of them to death. The rebels complied with this request, and after he had got them in the attitude of devotion, he said, "Now pray to God "to have mercy on your souls, and teach you to shew that "kindness towards them, which you expect from him in the "hour of death, and in the day of judgment." This had the desired effect, and the prisoners were soon after conducted to prison by the guard, who swore that not a protestant man, woman, or child, should be left alive in the town the next day.

"In the whole, ninety-seven of the prisoners were deliberately murdered, and all the protestants would have shared a similar fate, had it not been prevented by the arrival of the king's troops.

"We shall now return to the army under general Moore. Being reinforced, as before related, the general was preparing to proceed with his forces to Taghmon, on the morning of the twenty-first of June. At this time the rebels in Wexford considered themselves in a very critical situation, and being convinced that it would be impossible for them to keep the town, they liberated lord Kingsborough and the other officers who were prisoners there, and requested that he would be their mediator, and write to the general officers to spare the inhabitants of Wexford, and their property, on returning to their allegiance. To this proposal lord Kingsborough agreed, on condition that he was invested with the command of the town.

The rebels having acceded to his lordship's desire, he forwarded the following proposals, made by them, to general Moore :

"That captain M'Manus shall proceed from Wexford towards Oulart, accompanied by Mr. E. Hay, appointed by the inhabitants of all religious persuasions, to inform the officer commanding the king's troops, that they are ready to deliver up the town of Wexford without opposition, lay down their arms, and return to their allegiance, provided that their persons and properties are guaranteed by the commanding officer; and that they will use every influence in their power to induce the people of the country at large to return to their allegiance also. These terms we hope captain M'Manus will be able to procure.—Signed by order of the inhabitants of Wexford.

"MATTHEW KEUGH."

"To these proposals general Moore returned no answer, but immediately forwarded them to the commanding officer, general Lake, and instead of proceeding to Taghmon, he directed his march towards Wexford, and stationed his army within two miles of that town. General Lake returned the following answer to the proposals:—

"*Enniscorthy, June 22, 1798.*

"Lieutenant-general Lake cannot attend to any terms offered by rebels in arms against their sovereign. While they continue so, he must use the force intrusted to him, with the utmost energy for their destruction. To the deluded multitude he promises pardon, on their delivering into his hands their leaders, surrendering their arms, and returning with sincerity to their allegiance.

(Signed) * "G. LAKE."

"Soon after captain M'Manus had departed with the proposals, the rebel leaders desired lord Kingsborough to dispatch a second messenger, lest the king's troops should arrive before the terms had been accepted. He accordingly sent ensign Harman, to request the general to encamp at Carrick-bridge, before he advanced into the town. As the ensign was proceeding on the road, he was met by father Murphy, who exclaimed "he would have no peace," and ordered his aid-de-camp to

shoot him; on which he drew a pistol and shot Harman through the head.

“After these proposals were forwarded, the rebel general Roche endeavoured to persuade them to go out and meet the army; but all his intreaties were in vain; for when captain Boyd of the Wexford cavalry, and a few of his troop, appeared the rebels fled over the bridge in the greatest confusion, and in the course of a few minutes the streets were almost clear. On the cry of “The army is come!” a number of wretches, sick and wounded, ran out of the infirmary, some of them without clothes, and followed their associates; the greater part of whom made the best of their way to Kilmuckridge, and the rest into the barony of Forth.

“When captain Boyd arrived, and found that the rebels had evacuated the town, he immediately proceeded to the gaol to see the surviving prisoners, who had been miserably fed for some time. He instantly set them at liberty; but recommended them to remain in prison, until after the king’s troops arrived, lest they should be mistaken for rebels and put to death. Shortly after the Queen’s Royals arrived in the most regular order, not a word being heard in all the ranks, and took possession of the garrison. The joy of the inhabitants, particularly the protestants who were doomed to death, was inexpressible. Had they arrived a day sooner, the massacre upon the bridge would have been prevented.

“General Lake entered the town of Wexford in the morning of the twenty-second of June, and established his staff in Keugh’s house. He then issued a proclamation for apprehending all the rebel leaders; assuring the deluded multitude, that such as would surrender and deliver up their arms, should receive mercy and protection: he also issued general orders that no person should be put to death, unless he had been tried and condemned by a court-martial. He forbid any inhabitant or other person being molested, and charged the soldiers not to take any article away from any person, without having paid for it.

“The victories which the king’s troops had gained at Vinegar-hill, and other places, and the evacuation of Wexford, so dispirited the rebels, that numbers of them repaired to the differ-

ent commanders of garrisons, took the oath of allegiance, and obtained protections.

"A few days after the king's troops entered Wexford, the famous rebel general, father Roche, was arrested, tried by a court-martial, and executed on the bridge, along with one Fene-lon, and some others; after which their bodies were thrown into the river. Roche was tall and very corpulent, and so heavy, that when he was suspended, the rope broke and he fell to the ground: on recovering a little, he said, "God's blood! what are you about? why do you pull my stock so tight?" He then ascended the fatal step a second time, and was launched into eternity.

"As soon as it was known at Wexford that the rebels were defeated at Vinegar-hill, Beauchamp Bagenal Harvey, who had acted as commander in chief to the rebels, made his escape, and accompanied by Mr. John Colclough, fled to one of the Saltee islands, about four miles from the shore, taking with them provisions, wine, spirits, and arms. There they purposed remaining until a favourable opportunity offered for getting themselves conveyed to France. Information having been received by government where they had secreted themselves, a party of military was dispatched in pursuit of them, on the twenty-fourth of June, who landed on the island the following morning. Soon after they landed, they found a chest of plate, and some articles of wearing apparel, and after a diligent search, discovered them, secreted in a cave and disguised as peasants. They immediately surrendered their arms, came forth, and were conveyed back to Wexford the next morning. Mr. Harvey's trial commenced the same evening. He did not deny his having acted as commander of the rebel forces, but endeavoured to extenuate, by saying, "That he accepted the command to prevent much greater evils, which would accrue from its falling into other hands, and with the hope of surrendering that command, one day or other, with great advantage to the country." He had no counsel, and after a trial which lasted near eight hours, he was found guilty—death; which sentence was put in execution on the morning of the twenty-eighth: His

head was placed on the session house, and his body thrown into the river.

“ Mr. Colclough was also executed on the evening of the twenty-eighth, and his body thrown into the river.

“ Cornelius Grogan was arrested at his seat in Johnstown, and on his trial endeavoured to prove that he was forced to act as commissary to the rebel army; but was convicted and executed. His head was placed upon the court-house, and his body thrown into the river.

“ Matthew Keugh, who acted as governor of Wexford, was taken prisoner, convicted on the clearest evidence, and executed. His head was also placed on the session-house.

“ Esmond Kyan, commander of the rebel artillery, was also taken prisoner, tried, found guilty, and executed.

“ Edward Roche, a rebel general, was taken prisoner, tried, sentenced for transportation, and was sent to Newgate, with some other convicts. Before the vessel was ready to convey them abroad, he died suddenly.

“ Richard Monk, a rebel captain, received a wound in an engagement, and was proceeding to surrender himself to colonel Maxwell, at Newtownbarry, when he was overtaken by some yeomanry and shot.

“ Thomas Dixon, who led the rebel band that murdered the prisoners on the bridge of Wexford, was noted for cruelty and cowardice. His wife was, if possible, more sanguinary than himself. They never could be found, though a great reward was offered for their apprehension.

“ In the whole, sixty-six persons were tried by court-martial, and executed at Wexford.”

“ While the surviving loyalists in Wexford were rejoicing at their deliverance, a very tragic scene was acted in Gorey. On the departure of general Needham from the latter town to Vinegar-hill, on the twentieth of June, he had sent an express to captain Holmes, of the Durham regiment, who commanded in Arklow, ordering him to dispatch immediately to Gorey that part of the Gorey cavalry who remained in Arklow, and informing him, that on their arrival at their place of destination, they should find an officer to command them, and a large force

with which they were to unite. By the same express the Gorey infantry were ordered to remain in Arklow; but these, and the refugee inhabitants of Gorey, hearing of a large force to protect their town were so impatient to revisit their homes, that they followed the cavalry contrary to orders. This body of cavalry amounting to only seventeen in number, found on their arrival at Gorey, to their astonishment, not an officer or soldier. They, however, had the courage or temerity to scour the country in search of rebels, with the assistance of some others who had joined them, and killed about fifty men whom they found in their houses, or straggling homeward from the rebel army. On the twenty-second, a body of about five hundred rebels, under the conduct of Perry, retreating from Wexford, and directing their march to the Wicklow mountains, received information of this slaughter, and the weakness of the party committing it. They instantly ran full speed to the town, determined on vengeance. On intelligence of their approach, lieutenant Gordon, a youth of only twenty years of age, who had the command, marched his men (consisting of fourteen infantry, beside the cavalry,) out of the town to meet the enemy, and took post in an advantageous position near a place called Charlotte-grove, where they fired some volleys on the rebels, seven of whom they killed; but finding that they must be immediately surrounded and destroyed if they should attempt to maintain their post, they retreated, and each horseman taking a footman behind him, fled through the town toward Arklow. As by this motion the refugees, who had returned from Arklow, and were now attempting to escape again thither, were left exposed to the pursuit of an enraged enemy, the officer attempted to rally the yeomen on the road, to cover, if possible, the flight of the unfortunate people; but the yeomen galloped away full speed to Arklow, in spite of his remonstrances, and the refugees were slaughtered along the road to the number of thirty-seven men, beside a few who were left for dead, but afterwards recovered. No women or children were injured, as the rebels, who professed to act on a plan of retaliation, found on inquiry that no women or children of their party had been hurt. This was owing to the humanity of a young gentleman of seventeen

years of age in the yeoman cavalry, who had by his remonstrances restrained his associates from violence with respect to the fair sex. In the action of this day, which will be long remembered in Gorey under the title of *Bloody Friday*, only three of the yeomen infantry were killed, and none of the cavalry. The rebels having accomplished their purpose of revenge, their only motive for deviating from their course to visit Gorey, resumed, after a short repast, their march to the Wicklow mountains."

After the signal advantages gained by the king's troops, and the expulsion of the rebels from Wexford and Enniscorthy, those of the latter who remained in arms, were compelled to make mountains and other devious recesses their only places of abode. These seem now to have confined themselves merely to attempts to prolong the war, till the arrival of a French force to their assistance, by eluding the vigilance of the royal troops by rapid movements from one strong position to another.

CHAPTER XI.

THE rebel columns which evacuated Wexford, on the twenty-second of June formed a junction in the mountains between the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny, where they continued and spread desolation for some time, burning the houses of protestants, and murdering such of the occupiers as fell into their hands. The first achievement they endeavoured to perform, was an attempt to destroy Hacketstown, in which they succeeded, though not without considerable loss. The rebels made an attack upon this town on the twenty-fifth of May; but were defeated by the yeomen and a party of militia.

The column of rebels under the command of general Perry, father Kearns, Garret Byrne, and William Byrne of Ballymanus, marched to Hacketstown early in the morning of the twenty-fifth of June. The garrison of that town consisted of fifty of the Antrim militia, lieutenant Gardiner; fifty of the Talbotstown cavalry, captain Hume; twenty-four Shilelah cavalry, lieutenants Bradwell and Taylor; forty-six Hacketstown infantry, captain Hardy; and thirty Coolatin infantry, captain Chamney. This little army marched a short distance out of town, at six o'clock in the morning of the twenty-fifth of

June, to meet the rebels, who were upwards of four thousand strong. Before they had advanced far, they perceived the enemy, who immediately began to file off on each side of the road, for the purpose of surrounding them. In consequence of this manœuvre, the cavalry were obliged to retreat by the Clonmore road, and could not return to assist in defending the town. In this retreat captain Hardy and four men were killed. The infantry were also obliged to retreat, and one hundred and twenty of them took post in the barrack, and the remainder defended the front.

A clergyman of the name of Magee, and nine protestants, took their station in a house which commanded the principal street, determined to defend it to the last extremity. Mr. Magee's family, all the protestant women of the town, and even the wife of the rebel general Byrne, took refuge in this house; the lower part of which was barricaded, four men placed in the rear to prevent it from being fired, and five in the front, partly for its defence, and partly to cover the adjoining barrack, which being a thatched building, could not be defended by the troops inside.

Soon after this, the town was completely surrounded by an immense body of pikemen, who immediately fired it in many different places, while upwards of a thousand men poured upon it a heavy fire of musketry. In two hours, the whole of the town was in flames, except the barrack and two other houses; one of which contained the brave little garrison already mentioned. The rebels finding they could not succeed in destroying the barrack, without possession of Mr. Magee's house which flanked the back part of it, they relinquished the former, and approached the latter in great force. With colours flying, and sounding their bugle horns, they pushed carts before them on which were placed feather-beds, to cover the attack, and seemed determined to conquer or die; but in spite of all their efforts they were obliged to abandon it, leaving behind them twenty-eight men killed. Behind the house, next day, were found fifty dead bodies of pikemen, and thirty more covered with clay. It would not have been possible for that gallant handful of men to have defended themselves for want

of ammunition, had it not been for the assistance of a wounded officer, who sat behind a pier between two windows making cartridges; while his wife to the imminent danger of her life continued to distribute refreshments to the besieged during their fatiguing and dangerous service; and when their stock of balls was exhausted, she melted pewter plates, and with her own hands cast them into bullets, which her husband made up into cartridges.

The engagement continued till near four o'clock in the afternoon, when the rebels drew off their force in a regular manner, taking with them several cart loads of killed and wounded; though many of them were thrown into the burning houses and consumed, so that upon the whole not less than two hundred of them must have been destroyed.

From the total want of shelter, as well as ammunition and provision, and being apprehensive of a fresh attack, the army resolved to retreat to Tullow the same evening, having only eleven men killed and fifteen wounded. The rebels returned in the night and burnt the barracks and stores, and destroyed the houses belonging to the loyalists for some miles round.

As that column of rebels still continued to infest the country near Gorey, a detachment of the Tinnahely cavalry, under the command of captain Gowen, was sent to reconnoitre towards Monyseed. He saw the rebels near that town, in great force, having received considerable reinforcements after their flight from Vinegar-hill. Captain Gowen immediately sent an express to general Needham, who ordered out colonel Puelston, of the Ancient Britons, with detachments of that regiment, the fourth and fifth dragoons, the Gorey, Wingfield, and Ballylagheen cavalry. As the patrol advanced, they were informed that the rebels were near Ballyellis, and that they were in great want of ammunition. The colonel then said he would put them all to the sword, and making all speed, he perceived them coming along the side of Kilcaven-hill. When the rebels saw the cavalry advancing in so rapid and incautious a manner, they immediately left the road and lay down under cover of the hedges, leaving all their horses, baggage-carts and wounded,

which they brought from the battle of Hacketstown, in the road. Here they lay till the cavalry came up in full speed, on which the rebels opened a most tremendous fire of musketry on them; and being securely sheltered, the cavalry could do no execution, and were obliged to gallop, stooping under cover of the hedges; and not being cautious enough to avoid the carts in the road, rode against some of them and were overthrown: those behind pressing forward, and being also obliged to stoop, could not see them in time to stop, therefore tumbled one over another, horse over horse, whilst some of the horses feet got entangled in the carts, so that the road was strewn with men and horses plunging and tumbling about. The rebels, taking advantage of this confusion, rushed on them, piked and shot twenty-five of the Ancient Britons, eleven of the fifth dragoons, six Gorey cavalry, two Ballaghkeene cavalry, and two loyalists who went out with the patrol, and wounded many others. The remainder escaped and passed on through Carnew, took another rout and arrived safely at Gorey. During this transaction, the Wingfield dismounted cavalry and infantry, under captain Gowen, came up with the rebels, and being dressed in coloured clothes, they thought they were part of their own forces. The yeomanry seeing their opportunity, attacked them with great spirit, killed a number of them, and made their retreat without the loss of a man.

The rebels having acquired a strength of arms and ammunition by the defeat of the cavalry, and knowing that Carnew was only garrisoned by about fifty yeomen, resolved on attacking it; but the yeomanry being informed of their intentions, took post in a malt-house, and repulsed them with great slaughter. The rebels then retired to Ballyellis, and in their retreat plundered and destroyed a new house, the property of Sir John Jervis White.

They then repaired to Kilcaven, whence, after a short stay, they proceeded to Ballyraheen-hill. In their march they killed twelve loyalists, and burned several houses.

They were pursued by detachments of the Wingfield and Shillelah cavalry, the Tinahely infantry, the Coolatin and the

Kilkenna; the whole making near two hundred men. These troops endeavoured to get to Ballyraheen-hill before the rebels, but could not. They found them advantageously posted behind hedges, and notwithstanding that, and their great superiority in numbers, engaged them upwards of half an hour; but were at last obliged to retreat. Captain Chamney of the Coolatin, captain Nixon of the Kilkenna, and seventeen privates were killed, and a number wounded. The victors then attacked captain Chamney's house, but were repulsed with loss by lieutenant Chamney, who, with several yeomen, had taken post in it for its defence.

The rebel force now assembled on a large hill which separates the counties of Wexford and Wicklow, called the White-heaps, and remained there until the fifth of July, when two columns arrived, one under sir James Duff, the other under general Needham, with intention to surround the hill and make a general attack. The rebels having previously received information of the movement of the king's troops, moved off the hill very early in the morning; but were intercepted by the column under sir James Duff, and after a few rounds of grape shot were obliged to change the course of their retreat. They were closely pursued by sir James, and were soon after perceived by general Needham, who immediately joined in the pursuit, and finding that he was at too great a distance for his infantry to come up with them, he pushed on with his cavalry, ordering the infantry to follow, and in a short time joined sir James Duff. After a pursuit of twelve miles, during which many of them threw away their clothes, the rebels resolved to come to an engagement, being almost exhausted with hunger and fatigue. For this purpose they formed behind the hedges and waited the attack of the troops.

When sir James arrived he began the attack by a discharge of grape-shot from his curricule guns, and the contest continued for some time; but when the infantry came up, the rebels were routed with great slaughter. The loss of the army amounted to about twenty, that of the rebels to about a hundred.

We shall now return to view the operations of the principal body of rebels under general Perry, in which consisted the principal strength of the conspiracy, leaving the remnant of the force defeated by general Duff to carry on that desultory warfare which they for some time maintained in the Wicklow mountains.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL Perry finding it would be impossible to do any more execution in the county of Wexford, it being so full of troops, and the rebel forces at the same time considerably diminished, now proceeded to the county of Kildare, where he formed a junction with a large body of rebels commanded by **Michael Aylmer**, expecting to penetrate into the north of Ireland; but Aylmer prevailed on him to abandon that enterprise and attack Clonard, as there was but a small force to defend it; then march by Kilbeggen to the Shannon and surprise Athlone, where he expected great reinforcements. This plan being adopted, their united forces marched on the eleventh of July to put it into execution.

The military at Clonard were unapprised of the intention of the rebels until they were informed of their approach. Every preparation was immediately made. The yeomen assembled, and under the direction of lieutenant Tyrrel, were placed in the most advantageous positions. An old turret at the end of the lieutenant's garden, which commanded the road the rebels were advancing by, was occupied by six of the corps, one of whom was the lieutenant's son, only sixteen years old. The rebels advanced so rapidly that the gate leading to the court-yard was obliged to be closed before all the guard assembled; so that when lieutenant Tyrrel came to ascertain his strength, he had but twenty-seven men, including his own three sons, the eldest

of whom was only eighteen years of age. Such a critical situation, required all the firmness, skill, and intrepidity of a veteran. Though the lieutenant had never served in any military capacity, his good sense supplied the want of experience, and his courage furnished resources adequate to the magnitude of the occasion. His men were equally zealous and determined to maintain their post. After sending a supply of ammunition to the advanced post at the turret, he retired into his dwelling house with the main body, of whom he selected the best marksmen, placed them at those windows from which they were most likely to annoy the enemy, and requested that they would not fire without taking good aim.

The advanced guard of the rebels, consisting of three hundred cavalry, commanded by Andrew Farrell, approached the turret, apprehending no danger. Young Tyrrel fired the first shot, which mortally wounded Farrell; and the rest immediately fired on the cavalry, which threw them into such confusion that they fled beyond the reach of their guns. The rebel infantry then coming up, passed the turret under cover of a wall, and taking post behind a hedge, on the other side of the road, maintained a constant fire on it, but without effect. The infantry which had passed the turret being joined by another party which had advanced by a different road, for they purposed surrounding the town, stationed a strong guard on the bridge, to prevent any reinforcements from arriving in that direction. The marksmen at the windows soon put to flight this guard, after killing ten or twelve of them, and not one of them appeared afterwards on the bridge, so that the communication with the western road was preserved, which we shall find to have been of considerable importance.

Being thus defeated in the first onset, the rebels became enraged, and determined on revenge. A large party contrived to get into the garden, and some of them rushed into the turret. The yeomen were upon the upper floor, and had dragged up the ladder by which they ascended. The rebels then endeavoured to climb up on each other and get into the upper story; but as fast as they appeared they were killed by the yeomen. Some ran pikes into the floor, and others fired through it, but

without effect, until twenty-seven of their men lay dead on the ground-floor. They then brought a quantity of straw and set the turret on fire. Two of the yeomen, one of whom was young Tyrrel, were killed in attempting to escape; the other four leaped from a window, and under cover of a wall got into the house. The rebels then set fire to the toll-house and some other cabins, to annoy the garrison, and threw some of their dead into the flames. The conflict had now lasted near six hours, when about five in the evening a reinforcement was descried from the house; the hopes of the yeomen were elevated, and they fought with increased vigour. One of the yeomen, who had been excluded by the sudden shutting of the gates in the morning, finding he could be of no use, repaired to Kinnegad, and represented the situation of his friends at Clonard. Lieutenant Houghton, with fourteen of the Kinnegad infantry, and a serjeant with eleven of the Northumberland fencibles, being all that could be spared, immediately marched for Clonard. As soon as they arrived lieutenant Tyrrel sallied from the house, and formed a junction with them on the road which leads to the bridge, which had been kept open. A few volleys completely cleared the roads, and having then placed the Kinnegad infantry and Northumberland fencibles in such positions as most effectually to gall the enemy in their retreat from the garden, lieutenant Tyrrel with a few chosen men undertook to drive them from it. Some of them were posted upon a mount, planted with fir trees, which afforded some protection, others lay concealed behind a privet hedge, from whence they could see every person who entered. The lieutenant and his party were received by a discharge from both bodies. No time was lost in attacking those behind the hedge, who were obliged to retire to the mount. The action then became very warm, and the rebels seemed determined to maintain their advantageous situation. The yeomen, but few in number, and six of them wounded, the rest almost overcome with fatigue, could not think of retiring; still they persevered and maintained a steady and well-directed fire on the enemy till they compelled them to retreat, when the Kinnegad infantry and Northumberland fencibles made great havoc.

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This victory, as brilliant as any that occurred during the rebellion, was now complete. There were upwards of a hundred and fifty of the enemy killed, and a great number wounded.

The rebels retreated from Clonard along the Dublin road; and, after proceeding some distance, turned towards the right and took possession of lord Harberton's house at Carbery, where they drank wine and spirits to excess.

On the twelfth of July they proceeded to Johnstown, and from thence to the Nineteen-mile house. They were pursued by parties of the Limerick militia and Edenderry yeoman cavalry, under the command of colonel Gough, who attacked and defeated them. They then fled in confusion, leaving all their cattle, stores, &c. behind them; and were pursued by general Myers with a detachment of the Buckinghamshire militia and a few of the Dublin yeomanry, who drove them towards Slane in the county of Meath. They then marched in the night to the Boyne, after passing which they were pursued by two divisions under generals Weyms and Meyrick.

The rebels formed again in a strong position on the road to Ardee; but when the Sunderland regiment arrived, they were routed and obliged to fly in all directions. They were then charged by the cavalry, and a great slaughter ensued. Some of the rebels fled to Ardee, the rest over the Boyne towards Garretstown, where they were again pursued and attacked by detachments of the Carlow and Fermanagh militia, the Swords infantry, part of the Dumfries dragoons, and three corps of yeomen cavalry, all under the command of captain Gordon of the Dumfries, who, in the course of a few days, killed great numbers and finally dispersed them.

Perry and father Kearns escaped into the king's county; but were soon after taken and brought prisoners to Edenderry, where they were tried by court-martial and executed on the twenty-first of July. Aylmer and Fitzgerald, with some other leaders, surrendered on condition of being transported. Garret and William Byrne also surrendered on the same terms, but as it was proved that the latter had been guilty of various murders, he was tried by court-martial and executed at Wicklow,

on the twenty-sixth of September, seventeen hundred and ninety-nine.

One body of rebels which escaped from Vinegar-hill retreated into the county of Kilkenny, under the command of father John Murphy of Boulavogue, by the Scullagh gap, and thence toward Castlecomer, hoping to excite an insurrection in that quarter; particularly among the colliers. Entering the gap, and driving forward a few troops who attempted to oppose them, they entered and burned the village of Kiledmond. They then proceeded toward Newbridge, where they arrived on the twenty-third of June. Lieutenant Dixon, with twenty-five of the Wexford regiment, and a small party of the 4th dragoons, was stationed there, and determined to defend it. They therefore took post on the bridge to prevent their passing the river, but were soon defeated by the rebels and obliged to retreat, with the loss of twenty-seven men taken prisoners, of whom seven, condemned as orangemen, were soon after shot. An express having been dispatched to general Asgil at Kilkenny, he repaired to Newbridge to stop their progress, but arrived too late, the enemy having commenced their march to the ridge of Leinster, within five miles of Castlecomer, where they spent the night.

The garrison of Castlecomer, consisting chiefly of a few yeomen, had been reinforced by a troop of the 4th dragoons, a company of the Waterford, and a company of the Downshire militia, and twenty infantry and forty cavalry of the Cullinagh yeomen, making in the whole about two hundred and fifty men, mostly cavalry.

Early in the morning of the twenty-fourth of June, a reconnoitring party was sent out, which found the rebels advancing the main body in the road, with considerable wings on each side. The party being nearly surrounded before they observed them (owing to a thick fog,) was obliged to retreat precipitately with great loss. The main body of the army, seeing the reconnoitring party retreat in such confusion, joined them and fled into the town, and a number of them taking post in four houses which commanded the bridge, kept up a constant fire on the rebels as they advanced. The wings now extended, forded the

river, and set fire to the town in several places. General Asgil at length arriving, commenced a heavy fire on the town with his artillery, not knowing that many loyalists were still in it making a gallant defence. This firing, however, considerably annoyed the rebels, and determined them to retire from the town about four o'clock in the afternoon. The general, however, considered the town not tenable, and the remaining loyalists were consequently obliged to retreat with him to Kilkenny, leaving their goods a prey to the enemy, who again took possession of the town on the retreat of the army.

The loss of the rebels in this action might be near two hundred in killed and wounded.

The enemy immediately began to plunder the houses of the loyalists who retreated, and committed every excess. The main body afterwards retired to the high grounds, where they remained till the following day. Being disappointed of raising an insurrection in the county of Kilkenny, where few had joined them, they determined to retreat back into the county of Wexford, through Scullagh gap. On the twenty-fifth of June they marched from the ridge with this resolution, proceeded toward Newbridge, and took post near that town on a rising ground at a place called Kilcomney. Here they were attacked on three sides at once, about six o'clock on the following morning, by the army under general Asgil, amounting to near twelve hundred effective men, and that of major Matthews, amounting to five hundred men, composed chiefly of the Downshire militia from Maryborough. The alacrity of the latter army to attack the insurgents, seems to have been the cause why they were not allowed to escape into the county of Wexford without a battle. After about an hour's firing of cannon, the rebels, fearing that they would be surrounded, fled precipitately, and in the greatest confusion, towards Scullagh gap, leaving all their cannon, ammunition, and plunder, in the hands of the army. They were pursued with slaughter by the cavalry near six miles. Their artillery consisted of ten light field pieces and some swivels. Among the booty were one hundred and seventy cattle, one hundred sheep, and seven hundred horses.

The loss of the king's troops has been stated by the general at only seven men: that of the rebels amounted to upwards of two hundred. They, however, forced their way through the gap, in which they were opposed by a small body of troops, and directed their course through the dwarf woods near Ferns to the Wicklow mountains.

Father John Murphy, the commander in chief, was taken soon after and hanged at Tullow. His body was burned and his head fixed on the market-house.

CHAPTER XIII.

MEANTIME Ulster, the quarter in which the principles of the United Irishmen had first appeared, the best acquainted with the use of arms, and the most enlightened province of Ireland—where government had reason to be most of all apprehensive of the consequences of insurrection—continued in a state of almost perfect tranquility. The inhabitants of this province, chiefly presbyterians, though perhaps possessed of greater courage than the people of the southern districts, yet appear to have acted with the greatest caution and circumspection. Though the mail-coaches did not arrive, the signal for their rising, they resolved to wait till they should learn whether their brethren in the south had actually appeared in arms. Lord O'Neil, however, governor of the county of Antrim, in consequence of certain intelligence that an insurrection was shortly to take place in that county, summoned the magistrates to meet on the seventh of June at the town of Antrim, in order to concert measures for its suppression. The leaders of the association, apprised of his lordship's designs, and convinced that something must immediately be done, resolved, in order to counteract those designs, to appear in arms on the same day, and, with their followers, to seize the town, together with his lordship and the magistrates, whom they intended to detain as hostages, in the midst of their deliberations. In the town was a quantity of ammunition, and a great number of arms sur-

rendered at different times by the disaffected, which they also hoped to regain possession of.

The attack was accordingly made about two o'clock in the afternoon, with such impetuosity, that the troops were quickly overpowered, and the town nearly completely taken. A reinforcement, however, having been ordered to march to Antrim, by the commander in the district, general Nugent, arrived at the very moment, and attacked the rebels, now within the town. But the vanguard, consisting of cavalry, being repulsed with the loss of twenty men, three of whom were officers, colonel Durham ordered the artillery to batter the town, which soon compelled the insurgents to abandon it. They fled towards Shanes-castle (the residence of Lord O'Neil) and Randalstown, whither they were pursued with the slaughter of about two hundred men. They left behind them a six-pounder, two cur-ricle guns which they had taken from the king's troops, and a considerable quantity of small arms. Amongst the losses of the loyalists were colonel Lumley of the 22d dragoons and lieutenant Murphy wounded; cornet Dunn killed; and lord O'Neil mortally wounded.

About half-past one on the seventh, a body of insurgents attacked Randalstown, where fifty of the Toome yeomanry surrendered to them. At ten o'clock they abandoned the town and marched to Toome, where they remained two days.

An attack was made on the morning of the seventh upon the town of Larne, by a small body which was repulsed by the garrison, consisting of a detachment of the Tay fencibles under a subaltern officer.

Feeble attempts were made on Ballymene and Ballycastle.

Disgusted by so many defeats, the main body retired to Donegor-hill, where the greater part broke or surrendered their arms, and nearly the whole of them dispersed, to which they were incited by the exhortations of Mr. M'Cloerty, a magistrate whom they had taken prisoner.

On the eighth of June a partial insurrection commenced in the county of Down; a numerous body of rebels having made their appearance in the neighbourhood of Saintfield, under the command of a doctor Jackson of Newtownards. Colonel

Stapleton having received information to this effect, immediately marched with a detachment of York fencibles, with some yeomen cavalry and infantry, and two pieces of artillery, towards Saintfield. On the ninth the rebels elected Henry Munro, a shopkeeper of Lisburn, their general; and having been informed of colonel Stapleton's approach, placed themselves in ambush on each side of the road he had to pass, about a quarter of a mile from Saintfield. They suffered the greatest part of the army to pass unmolested, and then opened a heavy fire on their rear, which consisted of cavalry, and so far succeeded that the royal army was for some time in danger of total defeat, having lost about fifty of their number, among whom were captain Chetwynd, lieutenant Unitt, and ensign Sparks, together with the Rev. Mr. Mortimer, who had just joined them.

The infantry, however, on whom the cavalry had been driven in confusion, rallying with a cool intrepidity, at length dislodged the rebels, who fled in the greatest disorder towards Newtownards, with a considerable loss in killed and wounded. The army, after retaining possession of the field of battle for two hours, retreated to Belfast.

The day after the rebels were defeated at Saintfield, they attacked a small body of troops who had taken post in the market-house at Newtownards, to guard a quantity of ammunition, baggage, &c. These finding they could not withstand the superior force of the enemy, at length consented to capitulate, and marched to Belfast.

Having now gained a considerable quantity of ammunition, and little discouraged by the defeat at Saintfield, the rebels re-assembled and took post at Ballynahinch, on the Windmill-hill, and at the house and in the demesne of lord Moira.

On the twelfth of June general Nugent marched against them from Belfast, with a detachment of the 22d dragoons, the Monaghan militia, and some yeomen cavalry and infantry; and was joined by colonel Stewart with his party from Downpatrick, making in all near fifteen hundred men. After a few discharges of artillery the rebels were driven from the hill, and obliged to join their friends at lord Moira's, with the loss of a colonel who was taken and hanged. General Nugent then took possession

sion of the hill, and both armies spent the night in preparations for battle, which began on the morning of the thirteenth, when the town was set on fire by the king's troops. The action was maintained with little or no execution, the rebel cannon being small, and the shells from the royal army bursting in the air. At length the Monaghan militia, with two field-pieces, posted at the great gate, were attacked with such determined courage by the rebel pikemen, that they were obliged to fall back on the Hillsborough cavalry, who also retired in great confusion. The troops afterwards found means to rally, while the Argyleshire fencibles were making their attack on another quarter. The rebels, confused and distracted, retreated up the hill, and making a resolute stand at its summit, at a kind of fortification defended that post for a considerable time, but were at length compelled to give way in all directions, with the loss of their cannon and about two hundred men in killed and wounded.

The loss of the king's army in this engagement may have amounted to about forty, of whom two were officers, captain Evatt killed and lieutenant Ellis wounded.

The main body of rebels retreated to the mountains of Sleeve Croob, where they soon after separated and returned to their several homes. Some of the leaders were soon after apprehended and executed, and thus terminated this short and partial but active and vigorous insurrection.

On the eleventh of June the rebels made an attack upon the town of Portaferry, but were repulsed by a small party of yeomanry, under the command of captain Matthews, assisted by the fire of a revenue cruiser, commanded by captain Hopkins, with the loss of forty men.

“ On the subsiding of this local rebellion in the north-eastern quarter of Ireland, another local rebellion, much inferior in vigour, and very easily suppressed, commenced in the opposite south-western quarter, in the county of Cork. Accompanied with the same kind of violent acts as elsewhere in the south, and exhibiting nothing extraordinary or peculiar, it requires little notice. The principal action, and the only one which government has thought proper to communicate to the public,

took place near the vilage of Ballynascarty, where, on the nineteenth of June, two hundred and twenty men of the Westmeath regiment of militia, with two six-pounders, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel, sir Hugh O'Reilly, were attacked on their march from Cloghnakilty to Bandon by a body of between three and four hundred men, armed almost all with pikes. This was only a part of the rebel force, here placed in ambush in a very advantageous position. The attack was made from a height on the left of the column, so unexpectedly and rapidly, that the troops had scarcely time to form ; but the assailants were quickly repulsed with some loss, and retreated to the height. Here, if the soldiers had pursued them, from which they were with great difficulty restrained, they would probably have been surrounded and slaughtered like the North-Cork detachment at Oulart. While the officers were endeavouring to form the men again, a body of rebels were making a motion to seize the cannon, and another body made its appearance on the high grounds in its rear ; but, at the critical moment, a hundred men of the Caithness legion, under the command of major Innes, who on their march to Cloghnakilty had heard the report of guns, came to their assistance, and by a brisk fire put the assailants to flight on one side, after which those who were on the heights behind retired on receiving a few discharges of the artillery. The loss of the rebels in this action may perhaps have amounted to between fifty and a hundred men ; that of the royal troops, by the commander's account, only to a sergeant and a private."

During all this time the metropolis remained perfectly tranquil, except in cases of alarm within and accounts of hostilities in the country. Soon after the rebellion broke out, a number of gentlemen, apprehended as rebel leaders, in the city, were tried and executed, among whom were Henry and John Sheares.

Lord Cornwallis, who had been appointed lord lieutenant, made his entrance into Dublin on the twentieth of June, which was soon after left by lord Camden, who retired to England.

On the tenth of July a proclamation was published in the Dublin Gazette, offering a general pardon and protection to the insurgents, in case of their surrendering and returning to their

allegiance. This proclamation produced an agreement between government and the chiefs of the United Irish, by which the latter and all others who should avail themselves of the offer, including Mr. Oliver Bond, then under sentence of death, were to give every information concerning their transactions, and to quit the kingdom, on condition of being pardoned. The agreement was signed on the twenty-ninth of July by seventy-three persons, and six of the principal leaders, among whom were Dr. McNevin, Thomas Addis Emmett, Arthur O'Connor, and Samuel Neilson, who gave details on oath in their examinations before the secret committees of both houses of parliament.

Notwithstanding this agreement, fifteen of the principal prisoners were detained in custody. Mr. Oliver Bond died suddenly in prison.

CHAPTER XIV.

WHILE government was led to conclude that this bloody and desolating civil war was completely quelled, the rebellion again burst forth in a quarter where it had been least of all expected, and where not the smallest sign of disaffection had appeared. We allude to the province of Connaught. This quarter, however, was roused to insurrection by the landing in the bay of Killalla, on the twenty-second of August, of eleven hundred French troops, including seventy officers, with a considerable quantity of Arms, clothing, and ammunition, under the command of general Humbert. These were disembarked from three frigates, and formed only the vanguard of that army which afterwards fell a prey to a British squadron.

The garrison of the town of Killalla, consisting of only fifty men, thirty of whom were yeomen, the remainder a detachment of the Prince of Wales fencibles, after a spirited attempt to oppose the entrance of the French vanguard, between seven and eight o'clock of the evening of the twenty-second, were obliged to retreat with precipitation, having two of their number killed; and lieutenant Sills of the fencibles, captain Kirkwood of the yeomen, and nineteen privates taken prisoners.

“ All opposition being now at an end,” says the narrator* of what passed at Killalla after the landing of the French troops, “ the French general marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see Mons. l’Eveque. Very fortunately for his family, and, indeed, as it afterwards appeared, for the town and neighbourhood, the bishop was tolerably fluent in the French language, having in his youth had the advantage of foreign travel. Humbert desired him to be under no apprehension, himself and all his people should be treated with the most respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support: a promise which, as long as those troops continued at Killalla, was *most religiously observed*, excepting only a small sally of ill humour or roughness on the part of the commander towards the bishop, which shall be related presently.

“ In the midst of all his hurry in giving the necessary orders for landing the remainder of his force, and appointing their quarters, general Humbert found time that very evening to enter into a very long conversation with the bishop on the subject of his invasion, and the sanguine hopes he entertained of its speedy and complete success. Such a powerful armament was to be sent out without delay from the French ports, to second his primary adventure, that not a doubt could in reason subsist, but Ireland would be a free and happy nation, under the protection of France, within the space of a month. A directory was immediately to be set up in the province of Connaught, some of the members of which were already appointed; but there was still a place for a person of the ability and consequence of the bishop of Killalla, if he chose to embrace the fortunate opportunity at once of serving himself and liberating his country. The bishop at that time made no answer except by a bow to the personal compliment; but when the application was afterwards seriously repeated to him in their common bed-chamber, by the two principal officers, Humbert and Serrasin, he smiled, and said he had taken too many oaths of allegiance to his sovereign to have it in his power to change.

* Supposed to be the bishop of Killalla.

They replied he was a man of honour, and that it was far from the intention of their government to force liberty upon any man.

“The remainder of the first evening was employed in a strict examination of captain Kirkwood, the magistrate, as to the supplies that could be drawn from the town and neighbourhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers, who came with the French. Mr. Kirkwood answered with such an appearance of frankness and candour that he gained the esteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family and attend to his private affairs. But this good humour between them did not continue long. Kirkwood had a sickly wife, an amiable woman, of whom he was doatingly fond. The terror of the invasion wrought so upon her weak nerves, that after escaping on the first night to the castle, she crept away the day after to some hiding place in the mountains, four or five miles from the town, from which she sent word to her husband that she was but just alive. Attentive only to her, he forgot his parole of honour to the French; and it was not till after he had been some time by his wife’s bed-side, that he recollected the circumstance of his having transgressed the bounds within which he had promised to confine himself. Not knowing what punishment he might have incurred by this breach of the laws of war, he took the desperate resolution of withdrawing himself to the wild district of Erris, about ten miles from Killalla, on the sea coast, into which a carriage cannot pass, as it is a frightful track of bog and mountain, though tolerably well peopled. Here he remained several days with only one attendant, in constant dread of being robbed and murdered by the rebels, and forced to take up his residence at night in caves among the rocks, when he could not reach a smoky hut belonging to some peasant whom he could trust. At one time especially, he owed his life to the good offices of Ferdinand O’Donnel, a young man, a tenant under the see Killalla, who was soon to make a conspicuous figure in these troubles. O’Donnel had been employed in some little post in the revenue at Cork, whence he had lately returned to his own country, to

look after his small farm, and to take care of his mother, a young brother, and sisters. He knew Mr. Kirkwood; as indeed no man was better known nor more popular in all that neighbourhood, being a good-humoured man, well versed in the Irish language, and useful as a merchant conducting an extensive trade between Killalla and the Irish and English ports. With difficulty O'Donnel was able to protect the fugitive for one night only in his farm-house; but he incurred the hatred of the rebels so much for this act of humanity, that after sending away Kirkwood in the morning, he was fain to take the road to Killalla himself the same day. It is more than probable, however, that he was glad of the pretence for running to the scene of action, where his vanity whispered him, that he should find occasion to distinguish himself. Kirkwood soon after, by the help of a trusty protestant of the name of Rogers, contrived to make his situation known to the bishop, who represented the business to the French officers in such a light, as proceeding merely from inadvertence, that a passport was granted, in consequence of which, Mr. Kirkwood, after many intervening perils, found means to get back to Killalla. There he had reason to mourn over the ill consequences of the hasty step he had taken, when he quitted the defence of his house and property. Enraged at his breach of parole, the French had taken every thing they wanted out of his stores; oats, salt, and iron, to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling-house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned, he found it almost a wreck.

“But it is time to look back to what happened at the castle in the commencement of the invasion. For a century past Ireland had known nothing of the horrors of war, but from description. Our obscure corner of the island had less reason than almost any other part to look for a disturbance from foreign enemies. Neither was there just cause of suspicion, that the county of Mayo, at least, had caught any portion of that malignant spirit of disloyalty and religious intolerance, the effects of which in the county of Wexford, we in Connaught had been lately deploring, not without a mixture of gratulation on our

own escape from the like. It is not to be wondered, therefore, if taken in the midst of profound security, the inhabitants were seized with a panic, as general as it was terrible.

“The dining-room at the castle, which a few minutes before witnessed nothing but mirth and festivity, was filled immediately, from one end to the other, with French officers and soldiers, dragging in arms and baggage, with prisoners undergoing examination; and in one part with a surgeon and assistants dressing a severe wound received in the late skirmish by a surly-looking officer of the French granadiers. All the lower part of the house, together with the court-yard, and offices, was occupied by the soldiery, to the number of at least three hundred. And here it would be an act of great injustice to the excellent discipline constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in our town, not to remark, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them, from a side-board of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not a single particular of private property was found to have been carried away, when the owners, after the first fright was over, came to look for their effects, which was not for a day or two after the landing. Immediately upon entering the dining-room, a French officer had called for the bishops butler, and gathering up the spoons and the glasses, had desired him to take them to his pantry.

“On the middle floor of the new house, the drawing-room was converted into a prison for the yeomen, till they were sent on the twenty-sixth to Ballina, when it returned to the possession of the family. A store-room on the same floor was left undisturbed; the two bed-chambers adjoining were reserved for the general and his principal officers. The attic story, containing a library and three bed-chambers, continued sacred to the bishop and his family. And so scrupulous was the delicacy of the French not to disturb the female part of the house, that not one of them was ever seen to go higher than the middle floor, except on the evening of their success at Castlebar, when two officers begged leave just to carry to the family the news of

the battle, and seemed a little mortified that the intelligence was received with an air of dissatisfaction.

“ It is not easy by any force of language to convey an adequate idea of the miseries of that first night, which succeeded to the landing of the enemy. To the terrified imaginations of the town’s people, the castle instantly presented itself, as the only place where they could have a chance of safety. Thither accordingly they fled, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, forcing their way into every corner of the house and offices, occupying the stair-cases, spreading through the bed-chambers, and some of them even thrusting themselves and their children into the same beds with the infants of the bishop’s family. Women that had lain sick in their beds for a month before, and one old lady past eighty, who was bed-ridden, and believed to be at the point of death, gathering strength from despair, contrived to work their way to the very top of the house. Chairs were placed round the lobby of the attic story, on which the family, with some of their principal acquaintance, remained without a thought of repose for the whole night. Indeed the leaden hand of sleep could not have closed any eye-lids but those of an infant. The whole house resounded like a bedlam with the loquacity of the Frenchmen below, and the shrieks and groans of the fugitives above. Among the last there wanted not some, who sought consolation from the whiskey bottle, in consequence of which they became presently so clamorous and troublesome, that it was necessary to restrain them by force.

“ Of the company that had dined at the castle that day, two clergymen made their escape on foot, and gained the neighbouring mountains, leaving their horses to be seized by the French. The dean of Killalla, (parish minister of the town) the Rev. Thomas Thompson, brought his wife and children from his own dwelling to the castle, where they were sheltered with the cordiality due to the uncommon excellence of their character, and continued there till a gracious Providence wrought our deliverance. The bishop had every reason to rejoice, that in his distress he should have been so fortunate as to be assisted by the judgment, the steadiness, and temper, of dean Thompson and doctor Ellison. This last gentleman indeed continued with

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him but one week, being dismissed on his parole to Castlebar ; but wherever he was, the bishop felt the beneficial effects of his active and friendly disposition. The Rev. Robert Nixon, curate of the parish, a most worthy and valuable young man, was also an inmate at the castle during the whole time of the troubles. The Rev. Mr. Little, from the neighbouring parish, of Lackan, embraced the same asylum, after he had been driven from his parsonage by the insurgents, who left him neither house nor property. The bishop's own family consisted of himself, his lady, his sister-in-law, Mrs. Cope, the Rev. James Burrowes (private tutor,) a young nephew, and eleven children.* The servants were thirteen in number.

“ On the morning after his arrival, Humbert began his military operations by pushing forwards to Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he mounted on the best horses he could lay his hand upon in the country. On the road he concealed under the arch of a bridge, adjoining to Killalla, a sergeant's guard, to watch the motions of any stragling party from the enemy ; a measure of prudence which proved fatal to the Rev. George Fortescue (nephew to Lord Clermont) a clergyman of the dioces, of the fairest character. This young gentleman, who had been enrolled in his brother's troop, in the county of Louth, had put himself at the head of a reconnoitring party from Ballina, and falling in with the ambuscade, received a wound in his groin, of which he died in great agony, but with the most exemplary patience and resignation about nine days after. The carabineers and yeomanry of Ballina, after a short resistance, consulted their safety by flight, leaving the town and one of their company, in the hands of the French, a Newport cavalier, who was surprised in his bed before he had time to escape.

“ The person of this prisoner chancing to be large and corpulent, general Humbert chose to make a public exhibition of him, as the *spolia opima* of his victory. Placing him therefore in his uniform, at his left hand, in a curricule drawn by two

* Mrs. Stock had four other children abroad, two married daughters, and two officers serving in the army.

handsome horses, late the property of poor Mr. Fortescue, the general rode back from Ballina into Killalla in triumph, amidst the acclamations of a crowd of peasantry, as well as of his army. The indolent captive, as he carried his eyes quietly round the throng, looked not unlike a sea-lion just awaked out of his sleep.

“In war, it is said, the first success is every thing. The maxim was at least verified here, by the instant accession of many hundreds of the country people to the cause of the French, which they affected to style the cause of Ireland and liberty. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription ERIN GO BRAGH, importing, as I am told, *Ireland for ever!* This flag was the signal to invite as many as had the spirit to assert their freedom to join a brave people, who were come for no other purpose but to make them independent and happy. The generous purpose was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing, to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was brought in voluntarily, or taken by necessity to answer the occasions of the army, should be punctually paid for in drafts on the future directory, of which the owners of the goods demanded were courteously invited to accept. For the first two or three days many people did apply for such drafts to the French commissary of stores, whose whole time appeared to be taken up with writing them. Indeed the bishop himself was of opinion, that the losers would act wisely to accept of them; not, as he told the people, that they would ever produce payment where it was promised, but because they might serve as documents to our own government, when at a future period it should come to inquire into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects. The trouble, however, of the commissary, in issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not of long duration. The people smiled first, and he joined in the smile himself at last, when he offered the airy security.

“But if cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good on the spot, and to a consider-

able extent. Chests, containing each forty fusils, and others filled with new French uniforms, and gaudy helmits, being heaped together in the castle-yard, the first that offered their service, received complete clothing; and these, by credible report, were about a thousand in number. The next comers, who were at least as many, had every thing but shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms colonel Charost assured the bishop not less than five thousand five hundred stand were in this place delivered out to the insurgents. The musquets were pronounced, by those who were judges of them, to be well fabricated, though their bore was too small to admit English bullets. The carabines were remarkable for their goodness. Swords and pistols, of which there was no great plenty, were reserved as marks of distinction, to be distributed only to the rebel officers.

"It was a melancholy spectacle to those in the castle to witness the eagerness with which the unfortunate rustics pressed forward to lay hold of these fatal trappings, the sure harbingers of their own speedy destruction. A very little penetration was required to discover the madness of expecting final success in an enterprise conducted by such a force, against an army at that time in the kingdom, of probably not less than a hundred thousand men. But though the bait was visible to people of any sense, to the multitude it certainly was in no small degree alluring.

"The uncombed, ragged peasant, who had never before known the luxury of shoes and stockings, now washed, powdered, and full dressed, was metamorphosed into another being, the rather because the far greater part of these mountaineers were by no means deficient either in size or person. 'Look at these poor fellows,' said Humbert with an air of triumph to the bishop, 'they are made, you find, of the same stuff with ourselves.' A still stronger temptation offered itself, to people unaccustomed to animal food, in a full enjoyment of fresh meat. The least allowance of beef for a day was one pound to each recruit. This was devoured with an avidity that excited sometimes the mirth, sometimes the contempt of their French associates. An officer protested, that having for curiosity

trusted an Irishman at once with an allowance of eight pounds of dressed meat, he saw the creature throw himself on the ground and begin to gnaw it so eagerly, that he was sure he would not rise until he had consumed it.

“The expectation of spoil undoubtedly came in for a full share of the inducements that prompted the indigent to shake off the restraints of civil rule, and armed him against his wealthy neighbours. It is a debt due to justice, however, to observe that if the first who joined the enemy were enticed by hope to a foreign standard, very many took the same road afterwards merely through fear. Great pains were taken by the early insurgents to frighten their neighbours into the same inclosure of peril with themselves, partly by the most horrid menaces, in case of refusal to join the common cause, and partly by spreading lies of the protestants, whom they represented as orangemen, universally bent on the excision of the catholics.

When the united weight of so many temptations is duly estimated, operating besides on a body of peasantry already estranged from their protestant neighbours by difference of religion, language, and education, it will rather be matter of surprise that so little mischief was the result of the insurrection in Connaught, and that we had not the same horrid scenes of cruelty and religious intolerance to mourn over, as had lately stamped indelible disgrace on the eastern province. It is a circumstance worthy of particular notice, that during the whole time of this civil commotion, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war. It is true the example and influence of the French went a great way to prevent sanguinary excesses. But it will not be deemed fair to ascribe to this cause alone the forbearance of which we were witnesses, when it is considered what a range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels for several days after the French power was known to be at an end.

“These reflections are offered to the public as an apology for the opinion of certain persons who became advocates for lenity, when, on the suppression of the rebellion, the treatment due to the insurgents was the object of discussion. Fire and

sword was the language of gentlemen whose loss by the war, though grievous and highly provoking, was only the loss of property. Milder sentiments may reasonably be allowed to have place in bosoms which had throbbed with the apprehension of a greater mischief than spoliation. Experience had taught them that life is the first of worldly possessions; and having saved that blessing themselves, they could not be in haste to ravish it from others.

“Indeed where there had appeared all along so few traces of rancour in these poor country folk, it was impossible for a spectator of their actions not to pity them for their very simplicity. It was such that even the serious situation in which we were placed was frequently insufficient to repress our laughter at it. The coxcombrty of the young peasants in their new dress; the mixture of good humour and contempt in the weather-beaten countenances of the French, employed in making puppies of them; the haste of the undressed to be as fine as their neighbours, casting away their old clothes long before it came to be their turn to receive the new; above all, the merry activity of a handsome young fellow, a marine officer, whose business it was to consummate the vanity of the recruits, by decorating them with helmits beautifully edged with spotted brown paper, to look like leopard’s skin, a task which he performed standing on a powder barrel, and making the helmet fit any skull, even the largest, by thumping it down with his fists, careless whether it could ever be taken off again—these were circumstances that would have made you smile, though you had been just come from seeing your house in flames. A spectacle not less provoking to mirth presented itself to your view, if you followed the new soldiers after they had received their arms and cartridges, and observed their manner of using them. It was common with them to put in their cartridges at the wrong end, and when they stuck in the passage (as they often did) the inverted barrel was set to work against the ground, till it was bent and useless. At first they were trusted with balls as well as with powder. But this practice was not repeated, after it had gone near costing his life to general Humbert. As he was standing at an open window in the castle, the general heard a

ball whistle by his ear, discharged by an awkward recruit in the yard below, whom he instantly punished with an unmerciful caning. The ball passed into the cieling, where the mark of it is still apparent. Lastly, it was quite unsuitable to the spirit of these rustic warriors to keep their firelocks idle till they should come in sight of an enemy, when there were so many inferior animals on which they might be tried. A crowd got about Charost one day, clamouring for a supply of powder and shot. 'Tell them,' said the commandant, in a passion, 'they shall have no more, till I am sure they will not waste their charges upon ravens.'

"The French, it is well known, are a nation ready enough to consider themselves superior to any people in the world; but here indeed it would have been ridiculous not to prefer the Gallic troops in every respect before their new allies. Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree, appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with Humbert, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet if you except their granadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexion pale and sallow, their clothes much the worse of the wear: to a superficial observer, they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men, however, of whom it was presently observed, that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no covering but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy under Bonaparte; the rest were from the army of the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses that well accounted for thin persons and wan looks. Several of them declared with all the marks of sincerity, that at the siege of Mentz, during the preceding winter, they had for a long time slept on the ground in holes made four feet deep under the snow. And an officer, pointing to his leather small-clothes, assured the bishop, that he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.

"Humbert, the leader of this singular body of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage as any in his army. Of

a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbad you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy, (the effect probably of much watching) cast a side long-glance of insidiousness, and even of cruelty; it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how, (as most of his countrymen do) to assume, where it was convenient, the deportment of a gentleman. For learning, he scarcely had sufficient to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover, that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands. Of this truth the bishop himself was one of the first who had occasion to be made sensible.

“ Boats were necessary to transport the artillery and stores from the ships, cars and horses to forward them by land; and these were to be procured without delay, the life of the present enterprise consisting in dispatch. High prices were offered; but the fishermen of Killalla at first kept out of the way; and of the cars none could be got; but what were seized at the first onset. Application, therefore, was made to the bishop, whose answer was (what was really true) that he had no authority in that place, civil or personal; that he was not a magistrate, nor had time to be acquainted with the people, having settled himself in the town, from another part of the kingdom, only a few months before. Humbert replied, that he should not have troubled his lordship, if the proper magistrate had not fled, in violation of his parole; that he cared little, by what means the bishop should contrive to get him what he wanted; but as he was the principal inhabitant, he must and would charge him with the office of producing boats and cars, and that by the very next morning. The bishop, in Humbert's presence, de-

sired his people to go out into the town, and try to convince the inhabitants that the general's orders must be obeyed.

“ Next morning, when neither boat nor car appeared, Humbert became furious. He poured forth a torrent of vulgar abuse, roared, stamped, laid his hand frequently upon a scymitar that battered the ground, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and at last told the bishop himself, that he would make him sensible he was not to be trifled with, for he would punish his disobedience by sending him instantly to France. Orders to this effect were given on the spot to an officer, who delivered him in charge to a corporal's guard, only allowing him time to put on his hat. The inhabitants stared in silence, as they saw the bishop conducted on foot through the town. The French soldiers marched him at a good pace along the road that led to the ships, and seemed to have received orders not to answer any of his questions.

“ When they had advanced about half a mile, and were beginning to pass a hill that would have concealed the town from their view, they were overtaken by an express on horseback, with the general's orders to return. On entering the castle, the bishop was hailed with the gratulations of the French officers, and excuses for the conduct of their commander, a hasty man they said, but very good natured. Humbert himself received him on the stairs with an apology for what he had done, pleading necessity, a plea which was readily admitted. Indeed the bishop had felt no apprehension at any time, that the menace would be seriously carried into effect. He knew the French could not want his presence, nor his assistance as an interpreter; and he saw, through its disguise, the real object of Humbert's affected fury, which ended as that officer had expected in the immediate appearance of the people of whom he was in search. The bishop's danger, if there was any, was so quickly over, that happily the greater part of his family knew nothing of it till it was past.

“ Scarcely, however, had he got clear of one disagreeable business, when another was thrown in his way. Every thing being ready for a march by Saturday the twenty-fifth, the French general determined to leave behind him at Killella two

hundred of his own soldiers, under the command of half a dozen officers, to secure himself a retreat, in case of miscarriage, to his ammunition, a large proportion of which, to the amount of two hundred and eighty barrels of a hundred pounds each, could not be forwarded for want of the means of conveyance. But this was not the ostensible reason for leaving the men. It was pretended, that they were suffered to remain out of pure compassion to the protestants of the vicinity, whose lives might be in danger from the new levies, while the French were elsewhere employed. Hostages therefore must be taken at least as far as Ballina, in exchange for the six officers that should be left to keep the peace at Killalla; and the bishop was given to understand, that he himself, and one of his sons, must make a part of the number. Remonstrances were vain. The bishop found himself obliged to communicate the unwelcome tidings to the family, and to order his chaise for the following morning.

“At no one period of their calamity, perhaps, did the patience of the women sustain a ruder assault. To be separated, under such circumstances, for a time unknown, perhaps for ever (for it was then said and believed, that the hostages were destined to follow every where the camp and fortunes of the invaders) this was bitter news. Mrs. Thompson, the dean’s lady, sunk under it into a swoon: advanced in her pregnancy, she had nerves that did not keep pace with the excellent temper of her mind. Mrs. Stock and Mrs. Cope said nothing. But the eye that met theirs during that scene of anguish, feels a dimness at the reviewal of it.

“Next morning (Sunday) the prospect cleared up a little, though still unpleasant. The general had changed his mind, and would accept of the bishop’s eldest son in place of the father. It was a strange alleviation of pain, to be derived from exposing to danger a son, who had found favour with every body that knew him, as well as with his parents. But the youth (a college lad under nineteen) thought nothing of a danger from which his father was exempted, and went off cheerfully with the other four hostages, whom the bishop was ordered to nominate; for Humbert had consented to take but

one of the sons instead of two. The four named were John Knox, Esq. of Bartrach, Thomas Kirkwood, lieutenant of the Tyrawley cavalry; James Rutlege, custom-house officer; and the curate, Mr. Nixon.

“ With a levity which seemed to mark the general tenor of his conduct, Humbert signified to the hostages, presently after their arrival at Ballina, that they were at liberty to go home again. He himself marched his forces directly towards Castlebar, leaving one Truc, an ignorant brutal officer, with a few French, and a rabble of the Irish, to retain possession of Ballina. Truc would not confirm the indulgence granted by the general, till the day following; so that the five gentlemen passed a most unquiet night amidst a crew of drunken and insolent rebels, with scarcely any accommodation. The horses on which they rode to Ballina, were not to be found next day; but the hostages were glad to find their way back again on foot.

“ The charge of Killalla, with the title of commandant, was committed to M. Charost, *chef de demi-brigade*, which answers to our title of lieutenant colonel. The choice proved a fortunate one for the town; Charost being a man of sense and honour, in short, in every respect the opposite of Truc. This officer began his command by obliging the bishop so far as to grant a passport to captain Hill, the worthy register of the diocese, empowering him to go home to Limerick. By him the bishop found the much-desired opportunity of conveying a letter to his friends in Dublin, the only one they received from him till the town was recovered. A verbal account, however, of the family, was carried to Dublin by doctor Ellison, who got leave from Charost, on the twenty-ninth, to return to Castlebar, from which town he followed his lady and family to the capital. Mr. John Thompson, the dean's brother, was permitted, at the same time with doctor Ellison, to go to his house in Castlebar, where he hospitably entertained the bishop's son Arthur, when he was presently after sent to the same town in quality of hostage.

“ Though the enemy took away nothing with them, when they moved, but what was necessary for their operations in the field, yet that necessity was found to comprehend the best part of what the country possessed, whether of stock or victuals.

The bishop's larder and cellar, both plentifully stored at that season, scarcely sufficed for three days. Every thing, that he had in the fields disappeared: corn, potatoes, cattle, were all wanted, and taken from *him*, before any thing was touched that belonged to the poor. Of his kitchen grate so incessant use was made, from early morning even to midnight, that the chimney was on fire more than once, and in the middle of summer, above thirty tons of coals lasted only one month. His stables yielded nine horses of his own (most of them good ones) with proper furniture; and his guests contributed about half a dozen more. The coach-house was stript of nothing but harness; those brave officers despising the luxury of a chaise. Cars, carts, and a large wagon, with their furniture, went of course. In three days he had lost to the value of six hundred pounds. But it was clear, that even this damage was nothing in comparison of what he must have sustained, if he had fled, (as he was advised, and even offered the means to do) on the first approach of the French. The ruin of his house and furniture, both valuable, would have been the consequence; not to speak of the mischiefs throughout the neighbourhood, which he was happy enough by his presence and exertions to avert."

CHAPTER XV.

ON the twenty-fourth of August, Lord Cornwallis received intelligence of the landing of the French troops, and immediately ordered a force, which was thought to be more than sufficient for the purpose, to proceed to that quarter. Major-general Hutchinson arrived at Castlebar on the twenty-fifth, from Galway, and was joined the following night by lieutenant-general Lake, who had been ordered by lord Cornwallis to take the command of the forces assembled in Connaught, to oppose the French army. The forces then collected amounted to between three and four thousand men; yet the generals did not wish to attack the enemy until more forces arrived; therefore intended to remain at Castlebar a few days. General Humbert wisely chose the offensive rather than the defensive part in the attack; and accordingly marched with the utmost diligence to attack the forces at Castlebar, and would have surprised the king's army before day-light, had it not been for the extreme ruggedness of the roads by which he advanced.

Very few of the inhabitants joined the French on their landing at Killalla; but when the latter gained possession of Ballina, great numbers flocked to their standard, and received the arms and clothing which had been sent for them by the French government.

In order to excite rebellion before too powerful an army could possibly be collected to overwhelm him, general Humbert

determined to attack the forces at Castlebar ; he therefore commenced his march early in the morning of the twenty-sixth, with about eight hundred French troops, and near two thousand of the Irish peasantry. Instead of the common road which goes through the town of Foxford, where general Taylor with a body of troops, had been stationed, to watch the movements of the enemy, Humbert advanced over mountains which had hitherto been deemed impassable to an army, and where his further progress might have been stopped by a single company, with two pieces of artillery, at a place called the gap of Barnageehy, six miles from Castlebar, had our army been apprised of his approach in that direction. The artillery of the invaders consisted of only two small curricule guns, the carriage of one of which had broke down, owing to the ruggedness of the road, and caused a considerable delay in their march, which was very fortunate for our army.

At two o'clock in the morning of the twenty-seventh, information was received at Castlebar, of the approach of the enemy through the mountains. At seven they were within three miles of the town. Our army was immediately drawn up in an advantageous position, with fourteen pieces of artillery, between the town and the assailants. The royal army was greatly superior to that of the French, both in numbers and freshness of the men, who were free from fatigue, while the enemy were almost exhausted with scrambling over the mountains, near twenty hours, without repose, from which circumstance our troops promised themselves an easy victory. In the beginning of the action, appearances were favourable to their expectations, as the enemy were three times driven back by the fire of our artillery, which was well managed under the directions of captain Shortall. These veterans, however, were determined not to retreat ; though from the appearance and excellent disposition of our army, they expected nothing but to be obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and as the Irish insurgents were as yet of little or no use to them in an engagement. The enemy then filed away in small parties, both to the right and left, as if they intended to attack our troops in flank, and some of them advanced to the left, so as al-

most to touch the points of the Frazer fencibles. The French had lost many of their number, principally by the fire of our artillery, and had fired very few shots, when the royal army, seized with an unaccountable panic, broke on all sides, notwithstanding the utmost exertions of the officers, and retreated in the greatest confusion into the town, and when the enemy advanced they fled on the road to Tuam.

A small party of French soldiers pursued the flying army upwards of a mile from the town, when a party of lord Roden's cavalry wheeled and cut them down.

Still our army seemed panic struck, and retreated so precipitately as to reach the town of Tuam, thirty miles from Castlebar, in the evening of the same day, and after a short refreshment, retired still farther towards Athlone, where an officer of cavalry, with sixty of his men, arrived at one o'clock on Tuesday the twenty-ninth; having performed a march of sixty-three miles in twenty-seven hours!

Our army lost fourteen pieces of artillery in this unexpected defeat; four of which were currie guns. The loss of men was stated at fifty-three killed, thirty-four wounded, and two hundred and seventy-nine missing. Among the wounded were two lieutenants and three serjeants; and among the missing were two staff-officers, two majors, three captains, six lieutenants, three ensigns, ten serjeants, and two drummers.

“ A melancholy proof, that treason had a hand in the success of the French at Castlebar, was soon exhibited in the bishop's court-yard. Fifty-three deserters from the Longford militia marched in, amidst the shouts of the multitude, with their coats turned, and there exchanged the uniforms given them by their sovereign, for the blue coats of France! It was a strange sight, and to protestant spectators, most provoking. To comfort the bishop, the commissary made him a present of the deserters' uniforms. He took the gift, foreseeing that he should ere long find naked bodies in plenty to cover with them. Report said, that in a few days the rebel camp at Killalla was joined by fourscore more deserters from the Longford and Kilkenny militia. Not a man of these infamous betrayers of their king and country returned alive to his home.

“ From the day that succeeded the battle of Castlebar, August twenty-eight, suspense was kept alive at Killalla, by the report of cannon on the inland side, and by the appearance of a squadron of frigates in the offing, which were called French or English according to the wishes of the spectators. These ships varied in number, from one or two to five, appearing irresolute what course to take, till at length three* went off towards Sligo ; a fourth, of thirty-two guns, with a cutter of sixteen, continuing hovering in the bay, and was at one time near losing her cutter on the bar. The French cherished hopes that it might be the squadron they expected from Brest, till on the thirtieth they saw the single frigate send out her boats to destroy two trading vessels, of which the French had taken possession, one to transport their ammunition, just landed, the other to supply the town with forty ton of oatmeal. The crew of this last, seven Frenchmen, were carried to the frigate. The two sloops continued burning all night, and part of the next day. Some of the poor town's-people, venturing to board the oatmeal sloop, to save what they could of so tempting a provision, narrowly escaped death by an eighteen-pounder from the frigate.

“ As long as the two hundred French soldiers were suffered to remain for the defence of Killalla, the protestant inhabitants felt themselves perfectly secure, the number of insurgents, that poured in from the country to a camp they formed in the bishop's demesne, increased every hour. The case was sadly altered from the first of September. On that day the commandant showed the bishop an order he had received from general Humbert to send away immediately to Castlebar the whole French garrison of Killalla, none excepted, but M. Charost himself, and another officer of the name of Ponson. These

* “ These were, as we learned afterwards, the Doris, of thirty-six guns, Lord Ranelagh; the Melampus, ditto, capt. Moore; and the Fox cutter of twelve guns, lieutenant Walsh. The vessels that stayed were the Cerberus, thirty-two guns, 18 pounds, captain M'Namara, and the Hurler cutter, captain J. Norway, carrying sixteen carronades, 18-pounds.”

two were to keep the town with about two hundred of the Irish recruits.

“All the horrors, that had been acted at Wexford, now stared the loyalists in the face. ‘Famished wolves are closing ‘us on every side,’ said they to Charost, ‘and what can two ‘men effect, though ever so brave and vigilant?’ The commandant desired them to be quiet, assuring them that he would part with his own life sooner than abandon them; but he told the bishop, that as, by staying here to protect the protestants, he ran the hazard of losing his own liberty, he thought it but reasonable that one of the bishop’s sons should go with the troops to Castlebar, to be an hostage for his person, in case of the English becoming again masters of Killalla. To this the bishop could not object. His second and third sons, therefore, drew lots, and the chance falling on Arthur, the third son, a lad just sixteen, he was sent away about seven in the evening, on a poor jade ill accoutred, to travel all night with the French. From that day till the engagement at Killalla, about three weeks after, his parents could hear nothing from him, nor he from them; so strictly were the passes guarded.

“Immediately after the departure of the foreigners, the commandant applied himself to make provision for the security of the district entrusted to him. A strong patrol, in different bodies, was ordered to parade through the town and its environs, to the distance of three miles, every night. But as reports of robberies and midnight assaults came in continually, M. Charost thought it advisable to issue a proclamation, inviting all the inhabitants, without distinction of religion or party, to come to him, and receive arms and ammunition for their own defence, under no other condition than a promise of restoring them to him when he should call for them. The offer was presently embraced by the towns’ people, especially by the protestant part of them, who were most exposed to danger, and had been forced, at the beginning of the invasion, to deliver up their arms to the French. A distribution accordingly began to be made in the castle-yard, on the evening of September first.

“The commandant had now an opportunity of judging,

whether the fears of the protestants from their popish neighbours were justly founded. As the patrol was setting at that time, the rebels, (all Romanists) began to murmur at trusting arms to the protestant townsmen, which they were sure, they said, would be employed against the French and their allies the moment an English force appeared. Nor did the mutineers want a leader. One Mulheeran, a rebel officer, was their spokesman, a strong-made young fellow, who defended himself afterwards like a lion at the battle of Killalla against three or four troopers, all cutting him with their swords, and did not fall till his skull was hacked to pieces. This man resisted the commandant to his face, and went so far as to throw down the arms he had received from the French, when Charost told him he would trust all alike with arms, who chose to take a musquet in their own defence. The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malecontents, amidst darkness and clamour, and the confusion of three languages.

“After an hour’s struggle, several of the protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and said they would trust themselves to the protection of the patrol; which put an end, for that night, to the disturbance.

“It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence; till at length the protestants, harassed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any person’s appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stripped of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killalla, to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed, but some house was rifled; scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection. Willing to do his best, he interpreted, he drew up petitions, he dispatched guards to protestant families in the neighbourhood, he went from house to house in the town to inquire after abuses, till in the evening always, and frequent-

ly in the day time, he was forced to throw himself on a bed, unable to keep his feet. Yet his health and appetite seemed to be improved by the extraordinary fatigue, nor did he ever in his life sleep better.

“ But if it was doubtful whether arms might safely be committed to every inhabitant of Killalla, it admitted no dispute at all that the town could not exist without some form of civil government. Depredators crowded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body who had property, whether catholic or protestant. The French, it was said, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into districts, appointing over each a municipal officer, with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the scheme had there had the desired success. A proclamation was therefore issued for establishing a similar form through the canton over which Charost presided. The country was thrown into departments; a magistrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of sixteen or twenty men; arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation that neither officers nor men should be marched out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any service except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killalla was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant to the orders of Mr. James Devitt, the civil magistrate, unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman catholic, and a man of sense and moderation. He had under him two assistants of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent if the French power had been firmer. ”

“ The example of Killalla was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them, persons who had no desire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion, whether

they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was that he was no lawyer: but having always found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say there could be no law forbidding to do, under these circumstances, what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported that, when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine: it might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not sound, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct which, in the fulness of security, they take upon them to condemn. To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one to preserve the peace of a community, provided by so doing you do not preclude yourself from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable English law.

“ For the defence of the castle, which was declared to be the head-quarters of the allied army, a guard was drawn from the garrison, consisting of from sixteen to twenty men, who were seldom relieved above once in twenty-four hours. Of these four watched at the commandant's door, in the lobby of the middle story; four were placed in the hall; the rest were distributed at the gates in back and front, which had luckily been repaired and made secure by the bishop just before the invasion. Policy concurred with charity in recommending these poor guards to our daily cares they were fed and lodged so much better than any other soldiers that it occasioned quarrels and boxings among them sometimes, for a preference to be stationed on the castle-guard. And indeed they repaid the attention shewn to them by every mark of respect in their power, and by

assisting in little menial offices in and about the house wherever they were wanted.

"Yet was the presence of such protectors a circumstance to the family most dreadful. The gates, the doors, every thing within as well as without, our very existence was in custody of a band of rebels, who had the power at any instant to throw open the house to their companions abroad, and let in depredation at least, if nothing worse. And this was a mischief, too, that happened not unfrequently. At Castle-lacken, Castlereagh, and other houses belonging to protestants, where guards had been stationed, the soldiers proved traitors and admitted others from without to plunder the families they were sent to defend. If plunder was attractive, few houses offered more temptations in that way than the bishop's, not only because it contained much valuable property of his own, but because, in spite of prudence, he could not refuse to let it become the repository of other people's goods. Plate, cash, leases, and writings of consequence, were crowded in upon him, with an eagerness that would take no denial, and with too little caution to render the affair a secret. The commandant was made acquainted with these several causes of apprehension, on our part, and distrust of his Irish friends. He made light of them for a long time, in a real or seeming confidence of retaining his authority over the rebels; though, as the final period of our captivity approached, his looks, as well as his redoubled precautions, shewed that he began to be almost as uneasy as ourselves.

"The commandant and the bishop, finding each other to be honest men, above the meanness of deceit, soon came to a mutual good understanding. Charost trusted the bishop with a sight of a letter from general Humbert to himself, ordering him either to bury privately the powder left in his care, or to throw it into the sea, according as he should find it most prudent and feasible. As to conveying two hundred and eighty barrels of powder from the castle-yard to the sea, through the midst of armed rebels, eagerly bent on seizing the powder for their own use, it required not many words to shew the extreme improbability of effecting such a scheme. It remained, therefore, to bury it, and that in some place within the walls of the

castle, sufficient to contain and hide it. With the help of some labourers who continued faithful to him, and of his own domestics, the bishop contrived in several night's continual work, to bury ninety barrels under a hot-bed in the garden: the remainder was committed to a vault in the haggard under the corn-stand, where, though it could not be said to be concealed, it was at least secured as far as might be, under the given circumstances, from the dreaded danger of firing by accident.

“No less than three times, during our troubles, was this danger on the point of being realized. The first time was in the French reign, when the kitchen chimney was set on fire by the immoderate use of the grate, as I mentioned above. On the second occasion, we were saved only by the providential direction of the wind from catching the flames of a cabin just beside us, which was fired by the king's troops when they entered the town on the twenty-third of September. The third was the most alarming danger of all. On the evening of that same remarkable twenty-third of September, an honest inoffensive labourer of the bishop's quitted the castle to oblige his wife to stay within doors, who, with the fears of a woman great with child, was running wildly about the road in the midst of the fire from the army. He had seized her hand, and was hurrying her to his cabin, when a discharge of musquetry killed the man, and mortally wounded the woman. She was carried up to the granary in the castle, where she died that night. Without leave asked, without even apprising the family that they had brought the woman into the house, the foolish people about her began to wake the corpse, by lighting a fire on the floor of the granary, with nothing under the turf but a wooden board. Presently smoke and flames were seen to roll out of the windows of an apartment distant but a few yards from the gunpowder in the haggard, and the wind pointing directly that way. At the same instant all was confusion and uproar in the house: the victorious army was marching into quarters at Killalla, and the principal officers were busy in arranging matters for their own accommodation at the castle. It cost the bishop some labour to make the gentlemen listen to

the story, and believe, that if they did not bestir themselves, the town and all its contents would very probably in a few minutes be erased from the face of the earth. By the active exertions principally of the knight of Kerry, the fire was soon after got under.

“ From the time the French left us to the care of M. Charost, he and two officers under him, messed with the bishop’s family, where they were very welcome, being, under Providence, their sole protectors in the midst of so many perils. Whatever could be effected by vigilance, resolution, and conduct, for the safety of a place confided to them, was to a surprising degree effected for the district of Killalla by these three French officers, without the support of a single soldier of their own country; and that for the long space of twenty-three days, from the first of September to the day of the battle. It is natural to suppose, that in such a tract of time, a tolerable insight must have been obtained into their characters; and where the part they acted was of so much consequence, the reader may expect some description of them.

“ Lieutenant colonel Charost had attained to the age of five-and-forty. He was born in Paris, the son (as I am told) of a watchmaker in that city, who sent him over early to some connéctions in St. Domingo, where he was fortunate enough to marry a wife with a plantation for her dowry, which yielded him, before the troubles, an income of two thousand pounds sterling per annum. By the unhappy war which still desolates that island, he lost every thing, even to his wife and his only child, a daughter; they were taken on their passage to France, and sent away to Jamaica. His eyes would fill when he told the family, that he had not seen these dear relatives for six years past, nor even had tidings of them for the last three years. On returning to France, he embraced the military life, at first in the royal service, afterwards, when the times changed, in that of the republic, where he had risen by degrees to the rank he now filled. His residence had been at Rochelle with a brother, with whom he had shared bed and board till he was called, at only three days’ notice, to go out on the present expedition. In person he was strong and vigorous, inclining to fat; his

countenance was cheerful, and on the whole, pleasing, notwithstanding a blemish in one eye; he had a plain, good understanding, which served him for all the uses that he put it to, and he had either no leisure, or no liking, to strain it with over labour. His religion, he told the bishop, he had yet to seek; because his father being a catholic, and his mother a protestant, they had left him the liberty of choosing for himself, and he had never yet found time to make the inquiry, which however, he was sensible he ought to make, and would make at some time when Heaven should grant him repose. In the interim, he believed in God, was inclined to think there must be a future state, and was very sure that, while he lived in this world, it was his duty to do all good to his fellow-creatures that he could. The bishop offered a present to this half-christian of a book that might have satisfied his doubts, *La religion naturelle et revelee par l' Abbe Tremblay*. He was thankful; but it is not unlikely the sight even of three small volumes frightened him, for he never afterwards claimed the promise. Yet what he did not exhibit in his own conduct, he appeared to respect in others; for he took care that no noise nor disturbance should be made in the castle on Sundays, while the family and many protestants from the town were assembled in the library at their devotions.

“Boudet, the next in rank to the commandant, was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy, twenty-eight years of age. His father, he said, was yet living, though sixty-seven years old when he was born. His height was six feet, two inches. In person, complexion, and gravity, he was no inadequate representation of the Knight of La Mancha, whose example he followed in a recital of his own prowess and wonderful exploits, delivered in measured language, and an imposing seriousness of aspect. He came to Killalla from the town of Newport-Pratt, which he assured us he had taken with his own hand, though defended by four English troopers; he had gallantly kept the place for three or four days, and retired from it only because it was assailed by fifteen horse—but we were not to be surprised that so much should be achieved by an officer, bred in the echole Militaire at Paris to be one of the late King's

body-guard, trained from his childhood to arms, a man who had served in Flanders and on the Rhine, and had more than once been obliged to trample on mountains of dead and dying men after a battle. To vanity he added a fault that does not often go along with it, pride. He valued himself on an education superior to that of his companions in arms; was argumentative, contradictions, and irascible; so that his superior officer found it no easy matter to maintain peace with him. His manner, however, though distant, was polite; and he seemed to possess a more than common share of feeling, if a judgment might be formed from the energy with which he declaimed on the miseries of wars and revolutions. His integrity and courage appeared unquestionable. On the whole, when we became familiarized to his failings, we saw reason every day to respect his virtues.

“The last of this trio was named Ponson, a curious contrast, in every respect, to the character just described. In stature he did not exceed five feet, six inches; but if the body was little, it was alive from head to foot. Navarre gave him birth, the country of Henry IV. and his merry countenance recalled to mind the features of that celebrated monarch, though without the air of benevolence through them; for this monkey seemed to have no great feeling for any body but himself. Wherever he was, his presence was testified by a noise as loud and as pertinacious as that of a corn-creak; it was a continued roll of talk, or laughter, or whistling. The decencies of polished life he had probably never known; or if he had, he affected to despise them. Yet in a gloomy hour this eternal rattle had its use: it more than once kept our spirits buoyant, when terror prest heaviest. I shall mention two instances. One day a crowd of pikemen, clamorous with some insolent demand upon the commandant, appeared on the point of breaking down the castle gate. The bishop expressed his apprehensions to Ponson. ‘I will tell you what to do,’ said he: ‘step out among them suddenly, and cry *stop thief*, and they will every man of them take to their heels.’ The other occasion was that very serious one, when (as shall be related

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presently) the news of the French overthrow had weakened the authority of the commandant to that degree, that the rebels were deterred from laying hands on the protestants at Killalla only by the bishop's proposals of sending ambassadors to Castlebar, to obtain good treatment for the rebel prisoners there. The bishop and the commandant stood outside at the gate, close circled by malecontents; authority and argument had been tried by turns, mutinous whispers were going round, the final issue of the parley was very uncertain. At this critical moment appeared Ponson, coming in from the town, with a face expressive of horror. 'Commandant,' said he, 'I have a shocking piece of news to tell you.' What news? said the other, who was not in a very good humour to listen to any news. 'I am married,' cried Ponson—'married, I give you my oath, to Miss such a one,' naming the prettiest girl in the town. 'This here wicked curate, (Mr. Nixon, whom he held by the arm,) 'has tied the knot, before I could find out what he was about.' This ridiculous sally, when explained to the by-standers, relaxed the features of the whole company; scowling looks were dropt, and peace and mutual agreement succeeded.

"Ponson was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. A continued watching of five days and nights together, when the rebels were growing desperate for prey and mischief, did not appear to sink his spirits in the smallest degree. He was ready at a moment's notice to sally out upon the marauders, whom, if he caught them in the fact, belaboured without mercy, and without a symptom of fear for his own safety. Tied to a sword as long as himself, and armed with pistols, firelock and bayonet, he stretched himself up to view till he became terrific—at least he frightened many a tall peasant most heartily. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies, for whom he could not find names sufficiently expressive of contempt. The worst part of his character was that which related to religion. The commandant reported him to be a down right atheist. In his

practice he went beyond the common herd of the French army, who, though they shewed no desire to join in worship with any people (a circumstance frightful to all, and astonishing to the Roman catholics) yet respected the devotions of their neighbours. Ponson was a stouter sinner. The first time he dined with the family at the castle, the bishop observing him suddenly to quit the room, asked the commandant what he meant. 'You will hardly believe,' said Charost, 'that your saying grace to your meat appeared to him an action so very ridiculous, that as he knew it would be ill manners to laugh, he was forced to leave the table till he could suppress the emotion.' In fact the bishop did *not* believe it; but in his own mind attributed the action to a more probable cause, vanity: the miserable affectation of appearing to be more wicked than he really was.

"With these three Frenchmen was sometimes joined an officer of theirs from Ballina, who bore the title of Major O'Keon. A native of our barony of Tyrawley, O'Keon had received his education for the priesthood in France, and had attained to a benefice of some value in the church, when the revolution, stripping him at once of profession and livelihood, forced him to become a soldier for bread. The common road to a commission in the French armies is now, I understand, length of service in the ranks. By service O'Keon was become either a major or a captain, for he was called indifferently by both names. He was a fat, jolly looking man, with a ruddy countenance that carried nothing forbidding in it, except that his black thick eye-brows ran into each other, as they often do in aboriginal Irish faces. Of the English tongue he retained enough to be quite intelligible; and being also expert in Irish as well as French, he was able to render considerable service to his cause. His connections with this neighbourhood (for he had a father and two brothers near Ballina, heartily affected to the French) induce a strong suspicion of the truth of a story which he gave out when he first landed, and to which he adhered to the last, that his being destined to this expedition was an accident, and that the squadron itself which brought him over, was intended to invade, not Killalla, but Donegall. From

his conversation, the bishop had conceived a good opinion of this man. His language breathed nothing but mildness and liberality; and indeed his behaviour was suitable, for he exerted himself on all occasions to protect the loyalists, and frequently with the greatest effect. At one time particularly, he is said to have prevailed on an armed mob at Ballina to drop their declared purpose of marching to Killalla to have all the protestants there imprisoned: it is even added, that he turned them back after they had actually advanced a part of the way. This conduct, whether he adopted it from principal or policy, contributed more, than his proving himself to be a naturalized Frenchman, to save his life afterwards on his court-martial at Castlebar. He escaped with some difficulty, with the help of an attestation in his behalf from the bishop among many others, and being forbid ever to return to the British territories, he expressed in Dublin, and afterwards by letter from Yarmouth, the highest sense of his obligations to the bishop. It is painful to add, that experience and further inquiry into the character of this quondam priest has convinced his benefactor, that the man was deficient both in morals and common honesty.

“Before Humbert had quitted Killalla, a person came to him from Ballina, of the name of Bellew. He was brother to Dr. Bellew, the titular bishop of the see, and by his own report was not long since come from abroad to recover a patrimony, from the possession of which he was unjustly detained by his brother. To the loyalists he protested, that the prospect of being enabled to take vengeance on this brother, was his chief inducement for joining the French: to general Humbert he urged the merit of his military knowledge, acquired by eighteen years service under the emperor. He was taken by the general at his word, and presently received from him a pompous commission to be generalissimo of all the allies of France, levied and to be levied within a district extending from Ballina to Westport. It appeared in the sequel, how little the French regarded their own commissions to Irishmen; for this man presently shewing by his behaviour that he was a beastly drunkard almost to lunacy, Charost turned him out of his

office with disgrace, in the face of the rebel army, without waiting for Humbert's orders, and gave the charge of the levies to O'Donnell. As long as he had any authority, *M. le general Bellew* was a sad nuisance to the people of Killalla, particularly to the family of Mr. Owen Morrison, a worthy and very respectable protestant merchant, at whose house he chose to take up his quarters. He there lived as in a conquered country, extorting by threats from his hosts whatever he wanted, even to wearing apparel, getting drunk continually, lighting his pipe with paper torn from the walls of his apartment, and laying a heavy tax on the sight and smell of every body that approached him, being to the last degree filthy in his person, and eaten up with the itch. When he got any fresh clothing, his practice was to put it over the old habiliments; so that he wore two or three shirts, and a pair of satin small clothes, of Mr. Morrison's when he was hanged. For to this catastrophe the wretched creature deservedly came at last. He was taken at the battle of Killalla, tried by the court-martial, and executed two days after in the bishop's demesne.

“Bad as the situation of the owners of the castle during their captivity appeared to be, it must be confessed it was in many respects far better than that of the town's people. The castle, being head quarters, was regularly supplied with provisions, drawn from the plunder of the country; and the presence of the French officers, added to the large family always resident in it, left little room for intruders from the rebel army. In the town the case was different. There a scarcity next to famine soon appeared; rapine, the only source of subsistence, often failed of success; in consequence every petty fellow, who could by theft or violence provide himself with a sword and a case of pistols, immediately took the name and authority of an officer, and lived (especially in protestant houses, which were almost the only decent ones) at his discretion. Personal injuries, indeed, were rare, because the municipal power was always at hand to restrain or punish them; but insolence and avarice had their full swing. In popular commotions it has generally been observed, that natural talents go but a little way to procure influence; the leader of a mob is almost invariably

the man that outgoes all the rest in wickedness and audacity. An example, in proof of this observation, occurred on the morning of the sixth of September.

"The castle family were assembled at tea, and Mrs. Stock and the commandant amusing themselves (as well as they could with two separate languages) at a party of picquet, when word was brought that a Mr. Goodwin, a protestant of the town, had just been sent to prison by major Flanagan, without a shadow of reason, and that he must remain in custody till the morning, unless the commandant would come to his aid. This pretended major was a drunken daring wretch, who had kept an ale-house at Killalla, and was but lately returned from the gaol of Castlebar, where he had been confined on a charge of treason, and narrowly escaped transportation. The company rose, and the gentleman accompanied the commandant to the scene of disturbance, Mr. Morrison's house, the bishop himself thinking the occasion of that nature as to demand some risk of his own person. At the door, where a great crowd had assembled, they found Flanagan on horseback, drunk and very noisy. The commandant, by his interpreter the bishop, asked the man his authority for committing people to prison, commanded him to go and discharge his prisoner, and was answered saucily, that he would not let Goodwin stir from the prevot that night, let who would order it. It was a very serious crisis. There was just light enough to discern in the faces of surrounding multitude a doubt, a wavering between the two contending parties, which would probably be decided in favour of that which stood firmest to its point. Bellew, the mock general, took the part of his fellow-drunkard, entreating him in a wheedling tone to give a promise that he would set the prisoner at liberty in the morning.

"Most of the spectators were armed. Had a spirit of mischief prompted any one of them to raise his weapon against the commandant and his company, a general massacre and anarchy would most probably have followed. Charost was sensible that all depended on steadiness. With a strong and firm tone he commanded Flanagan to quit his horse. The culprit, looking round for help, and seeing none, obeyed. He was then de-

liberately stript by the commandant himself of his pistols and sword, and put under arrest for disobeying the orders of his superior officer, when he was first spoken to. The place of his confinement, it was supposed, would, for that night at least, be the house near which they were standing, and already Flanagan's comrades, under a shew of respect for the arrest, were leading him into Mr. Morrison's, when the bishop hastily interposing cried out to the commandant not to let him go. The hint was taken, for the fellow would surely have been liberated as soon as we had turned our backs. Charost took his arm, the tall Norman marched before him, Ponson strutted behind, supported by the castle gentry, and the procession arrived without let or molestation at the guard-room by the castle gate, where the mutineer was ordered to take up his quarters for the night. The crowd then dispersed; Goodwin was set at liberty; and after a two hours' confinement Mr. Toby Flanagan was allowed to go about his business, divested of his borrowed authority, together with the ensigns of it, his sword and pistols, which the commandant would never afterwards suffer him to resume. The bishop met him at times in the street, and was certain from his scowling visage that he meditated revenge. Indeed he had at all times an uncommon wickedness in his eyes, which, though dark and piercing, he was unable to fix steadily upon an honest man. His death therefore, on the day of Killalla, was the only one at the news of which the whole town seemed to concur in rejoicing; nor was the manner of it dissimilar from his life. He fled from the battle into a house in the town, where he knew he had no chance of being long hid from his pursuers. So he joined a party of the victors as they were in full chase after the rebels, crying out 'that he would be their guide to the wicked croppies,' till coming to a place where two passages met, he pointed out one of them to the soldiers, and threw himself headlong into the other. 'That's a croppie himself,' exclaimed with an oath a Frazer fencible, who had kept his eyes upon him; and on the instant he sent a ball after the wily fugitive, which terminated all his pranks at once."

CHAPTER XVI.

IMMEDIATELY on intelligence of the invasion, lord Cornwallis determined to march in person against the enemy, and accordingly arrived at Phillipstown on the 26th of August; having made a progress of forty-four Irish miles in two days. He arrived at Kilbeggan very early in the morning of the 28th, when he was informed of the defeat at Castlebar; he then advanced to Athlone, where he was positively informed by many who had fled through Tuam, particularly an officer of the carabineers, that the French had pursued general Lake's army to Tuam, driven it from that post, and taken possession of the town; but the French army was too much fatigued with their march through the mountains, to pursue the royal troops further than Castlebar. When general Lake arrived at Tuam, he judged that post unsafe, particularly as he had lost all his artillery and ammunition, and some of the troops being disorderly he judged it expedient to retreat nearer to Athlone. Even in this town an attack was expected, though it is sixty-three miles from Castlebar.

Lord Cornwallis saw that the utmost caution was necessary, as well as vigour in the movements of his forces. The motions of the main army, immediately under his own command, were calculated to cover the country, to intimidate the abettors of rebellion, and to afford an opportunity of rallying to any smaller body of troops which might be defeated; while those troops were ordered to harass the enemy as much as was

in their power, without running risks, or engaging in battle without almost a certainty of success. Lord Cornwallis proceeded on the 30th of August, towards Castlebar, and arrived at Hollymount on the 4th of September, whence he purposed to advance to Castlebar, fourteen miles distant, and attack the French army posted in that town, till in the evening of the same day, he received information that the French had abandoned that town in the morning, and had proceeded in the direction of Foxford; having been informed of lord Cornwallis's approach.

After the royal army was defeated at Castlebar, and the French had taken possession of the town, great numbers of the Irish peasantry flocked to their standard, as those had done at Ballina, from the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo. To furnish these multitudes with fire-arms, these brought from France, were found to be quite insufficient, though, according to the account of colonel Charost, to the bishop of Killalla, fifty-five hundred muskets were delivered to them at Castlebar. Those mountaineers were found to be very awkward in the use of fire-arms, and were of little use to the French, who expected far more powerful assistance from the Irish. They had also expected to be immediately followed by a large army and a considerable number of arms, with ammunition and stores from France. Being entirely disappointed in the former expectation, and seeing no prospect of being gratified with the latter, they began to apprehend that they had only been sent to annoy the enemies of their country. They however, even in this case, resolved to perform their duty, and use every effort in their power, against the British government, until they should be compelled to surrender.

On the 1st of September general Humbert ordered the troops which he left at Killalla, to repair to the main body, and on the 4th of the same month, he marched from Castlebar, and directed his march through Foxford, towards the town of Sligo, with a design of entering the county of Donegal, where it was expected, the additional forces from France, would land. A body of the king's troops, under colonel Crawford, supported by another under lieutenant-general Lake, hung upon the rear of Hum-

bert's army; another body of troops, under general Moore, watched the motions of the enemy, at a greater distance; while the main army, under lord Cornwallis, proceeded in a parallel direction from the town of Hollymount, through Clare and Ballyhaunis, towards Carrick-on-Shannon, intending to regulate his subsequent motions by those of the enemy.

The advanced-guard of the French having passed Tubbercurry, after a smart action with some yeomen, and arrived at the village of Coloony, about five miles from Sligo, where it was gallantly opposed by colonel Verreker, with a detachment of the city of Limerick militia, a few yeomen, and thirty of the 24th dragoons, and two curricule guns, in the whole not exceeding three hundred men. Colonel Verreker found the enemy advantageously arranged for his reception between him and Coloony. The colonel engaged the French about an hour and a half, but was at length obliged to retreat to Sligo, with the loss of his artillery, and some men killed and wounded. Himself and four other officers were wounded, and ensign Rumley killed. The loss of the French in this action exceeded fifty, thirty of whom were wounded.

Notwithstanding the royal troops were defeated, the French army received such a severe check, that general Humbert thought proper to relinquish his design of attacking Sligo. Humbert then directed his march through Drummahair towards Manorhamilton, in the county of Leitrim, leaving on the road, for the sake of expedition, three six-pounders dismounted, and throwing five other pieces of artillery over the bridge into the water at Drummahair. When he had come within a few miles of Manorhamilton, he suddenly wheeled to the right, and directed his course through Drumkerin, with intention, as is supposed, of attempting to reach the town of Granard, in the county of Longford, where an insurrection had broken out. The troops under colonel Crawford, pursued the enemy with such expedition, that on the 7th he came to an action with the rear-guard, between Drumshambo and Ballynamore, in which he was defeated with some loss.

The French army then passed the river Shannon at Ballintra, and halted in the night at Cloone, whence it proceeded to Bal-

Ballynamuck, and arrived on the 8th of September, and was so closely followed by the troops under Gen. Lake and Col. Crawford, that its rear-guard had not time to blow up the bridge at Ballintra, to impede the pursuit. About this time Lord Cornwallis, with the main army, crossed the same river at Carrick-on-Shannon, and marched by Mohill to Saint-Johnstown, in the county of Longford, to intercept the enemy in front, should it proceed to Granard; by which movement the French army was reduced to such a situation that, if it had proceeded, it would have been surrounded by an army of near thirty thousand men.

General Humbert then arranged his forces in order of battle, and determined to maintain the honour of the French arms, until he should be compelled to surrender. The rear-guard of his army was then attacked by the troops under Colonel Crawford, when about two hundred infantry surrendered. The rest continued to defend themselves with great spirit for near an hour; but when the main body of the army, under General Lake, appeared, they also surrendered, after having made Lord Roden, and a small party of dragoons, prisoners. Lord Roden, and the dragoons, advanced into the French line, for the purpose of obtaining their surrender, without the effusion of blood, when they were made prisoners. Soon after the king's troops came up, and the French desired Lord Roden to order them to halt, and they surrendered.

General Humbert surrendered to Lieutenant-General Lake, and was afterwards conducted to Lord Cornwallis, who was about five miles off.

The rebels who had joined the French, and accompanied them to Ballynamuck, were excluded from quarter, and of course fled, as fast as they could, in all directions, and were pursued by our cavalry, who made a great slaughter among them, having killed near five hundred. The number of French prisoners were seven hundred and forty-eight privates, and ninety-six officers; they having sustained a loss of two hundred and eighty-eight men, since their landing at Killalla.

While the French were marching from Castlebar, an alarming insurrection broke out in the neighbourhood of Granard, which was designed to make a diversion in their favour, and

to afford them a commodious post, whence they might, when united, direct their operations against the metropolis; to prevent this junction lord Cornwallis prudently marched his forces in a line between the invading army and the interior country. Great numbers of rebels joined this conspiracy, particularly in the county of Longford, who were headed by the O'Hara's, the two Dennistons, O'Connell, Farrell, and O'Reilly, all men of property. Their plan was to rise at the summons of their chiefs in the neighbourhood of Granard, to seize that post and then to attack the town of Cavan, where a great quantity of arms and ammunition were deposited. On the 5th of September, a body of upwards of four thousand of these insurgents were on the point of surprising the town of Granard, before any considerable force could be had for its protection. Between seven and eight in the morning the rebels were within sight of the town, under the command of Alexander Denniston. At this critical moment captain Cottingham of the Cavan and Ballyhaise yeomen infantry and eighty-five men arrived for its defence, and joined the few yeomen who were in the town. Captain Cottingham's force now consisted of one hundred and fifty-seven infantry and forty-nine cavalry; which he placed in an advantageous position on a hill, between the insurgents and the town; but observing that the rebels, who were advancing in one column, divided into three for the purpose of surrounding his little army, he retreated to another position still nearer the town, where he was protected by a bank and other fences, and in this position awaited the attack of the rebels, who drove a number of cattle before them to annoy the yeomen, but they turned the cattle aside without falling into confusion; then the rebels advanced close to their line, and received a destructive discharge of musketry; notwithstanding which they persevered in their attempt during five hours, from nine in the morning till two in the afternoon, when they fled and were pursued with great slaughter. It was said that upwards of four hundred rebels were killed in this action, without any loss on the part of the yeomen, except two privates who were slightly wounded. Great praise is due to captain Cottingham, and the men under his command, for having repulsed so superior a force. Besides

the yeomen, three gentlemen are much praised for their gallant behaviour on this occasion, Andrew Bell, of Drumkeel, and Moutray Erskine, who volunteered, and Ralph Dopping who defended the entrance into the town by the barracks. This victory was of the greatest importance, as it prevented the spreading of the insurrection, and those murders and devastations which would have been its consequences.

The main body of the rebels, after its defeat, directed its march to Wilson's hospital, a commodious building erected for charitable purposes, the maintenance of twenty aged men and an hundred boys, in the county of Westmeath, from a legacy bequeathed by Andrew Wilson, of Piersfield. This building had been entered and plundered in the morning of the same day, by another body of the rebels, who were taking measures to murder, on the following day, the 6th of September, twenty-seven protestant prisoners, who had been conveyed thither from the country, when the defeated rebels arrived; which they would have effected, had not they been prevented by the approach of a small body of troops which lord Longford had, with great diligence, collected. This force consisted of some yeomen and a detachment of the Argyleshire fencibles, with ~~one~~ a field-piece, under the command of major Porter, the whole not exceeding two hundred and fifty men. A large body of rebels, five hundred of whom were armed with muskets, marched from the hospital to meet these troops, near the village of Banbrusna. Here this little army was posted as soon as intelligence was received of the advance of the rebels, and awaited their attack, which began with a most furious attempt to seize the field-piece; but after a few discharges of grape shot, by which many of them were killed, they were obliged to retreat in the greatest confusion. In their retreat a party of them took shelter in a farm-house and out-buildings, which the king's troops immediately set fire to, and they were in consequence burned; together with many unfortunate wretches who had gone into them. It was now almost dark, and the troops determined to lay on their arms all night, and attack the insurgents in the hospital next morning. With this intention they proceeded at day light, but found it evacuated by the rebels,

who had plundered and destroyed every valuable article they found in it. The loss of the rebels, in this action, has been stated at upwards of one hundred in killed and wounded ; while that of the royalists was only two men killed.

After this time, the rebels never appeared in arms in the neighbourhood of Granard ; but in the western parts of the country, particularly in the county of Mayo, where they had first risen to assist the French, they still continued in a state of insurrection. They were not informed of the surrendry of general Humbert's army, until a few days after it had taken place ; and before they knew that circumstance, a body of rebels attacked Castlebar, which had been occupied by the King's troops, immediately on the evacuation of it by the French.

The garrison, consisting of fifty-seven Frazer fencibles, thirty-four volunteers, and one troop of cavalry, was so judiciously posted by captain Urquart, of the fencibles, as to completely rout the insurgents, whose intention was to plunder the town, and murder all the protestant inhabitants, as they were not permitted to molest them, while commanded by the French officers.

About this time most of the towns which had fallen into the hands of the insurgents were recovered, particularly Westport and Newport, by the fencibles and yeomen under the honourable Dennis Browne, and captain Urquart ; but Ballina and Killalla remained some time longer in possession of the rebels.

" Saturday September 8th, (a day memorable for the victory at Ballinamuck) exhibited to the town of Killalla a new subject of alarm and terror. Hitherto it had been, to such as had any thing to lose, matter of comfort to observe how awkwardly the armed peasants handled their firelocks, and how slow a progress they were making in the arts of destruction. This day, for the first time, pikes began to be talked of, instead of muskets. An officer of the rebels, one of the very few among them who seemed to have a head for mischief as well as a heart, signified to the commandant (still by the bishop, who made it a point to interpret faithfully, even where the matter of discourse made

him shudder) that the friends of liberty, seeing the fire-arms were all distributed, and that they were not thought worthy of being trusted with the ammunition brought from France, had come to a resolution of forming a strong body of pikemen, who, they trusted, would be found capable of doing at least as much execution on the enemy as any of their fellows. Therefore desired permission to seize upon all the iron they could find in the stores of Mr. Kirkwood, or elsewhere, to fabricate pike-heads.

“Charost liked the proposal almost as little as the bishop did. As a soldier, he despised the service of pikemen against regular troops; as a man, he hated the use to which these weapons might be applied by the robber and the murderer. But it was not his place to throw obstacles in the way of any offer to advance the common cause. He contented himself therefore with applauding the zeal of the people, who, he said, should have leave to use Mr. Kirkwood’s iron, as soon as there was an absolute need of making free with that gentleman’s property, but advised them to try first whether they could not get iron enough in an honest way, by converting into pike-heads what they had at home of that material, their own forks and other implements of husbandry. The answer was taken in good part, and saved the stores for the present. But as pikes were not forbidden, all the smiths and carpenters were presently set to work at making them, and every thief was busy in supplying materials for them. Pitch-forks were lawful prize from that day forth; and young trees were more becoming as pike handles in the grasp of a lover of liberty, than as ornaments to a gentleman’s farm. In a short time a body of pikemen was raised, under the direction of the officer above mentioned, which receiving daily accessions of numbers, because they carried their weapons every where, did no regular military duty, and mixed in every tumultuous assembly with a superior aptness for mischief.

“Precarious as the state of things at this time evidently was, it created surprise to observe, that the country folk had the hardiness to continue bringing their goods to the market, where they found a ready sale. Charost availed himself of

his power, only to take the weightier articles of provision; from the lower class of people he drew little or nothing without paying for it. Of course, what ready money he had brought with him, which did not exceed forty louis, was soon expended. The other officers were poorer than himself, and their pay from home was not to be expected. In this exigency there was no resource, but in a requisition of money from the district, which enjoyed the benefit of the French protection. The bishop was applied to for a list of names of persons most competent to contribute. His answer was, that he saw no objection either to the demand itself, or the quantum, which was fifty guineas, and that he should himself pay one fifth of the contribution; but he desired to be excused from the business of assessing the other inhabitants, as he was too new a comer to be acquainted with their circumstances. Mr. Devitt, their new magistrate, occurred as the person most likely to execute the business for them. Presently comes a translated letter from the commandant to the citizen magistrate Devitt, *inviting* him 'to entreat the town and district of Killalla to shew, by their contributions, their zeal for the glorious cause of the people. Some had come forward already with presents of money; and the writer doubted not, but many would be ready to imitate the good example. An exact register should be kept of the names and the sums subscribed, and the French government only asked it under the name of a loan.' With some delay and grumbling the sum was raised at last, a good part of which remained in the hands of Mrs. Stock (the bishop's lady) till it proved a seasonable supply to Charost and his companions when they were ordered away to Dublin.

"About this time O'Donnel, the young man mentioned before as having helped to protect Mr. Kirkwood in Erris, came to Killalla, with no other view, as he pretended, than to offer his services in preserving the peace of the town, by exerting his influence over the mountaineers of his own district. To this object he seemed for some time to confine his attention, and gained so upon the commandant by an appearance of sense and activity, that he was presently appointed to the office of town-major, with a command over the nightly watch. It is possible,

he did not mean at first to accept any military commission from the French ; but having a large share of vanity in his composition, and feeling himself grow into consequence among the rebels by comparison with their drunken general Bellew, he aspired to his place, and in fact (though never formally) succeeded to it, after the other was turned out. Charost had more than once occasion, in the sequel, to repent of having placed a confidence in this man before he had time to know his character. The airs the young jackanapes gave himself became every day more troublesome. On pretence that he must have a bed at the castle to take the orders of the commandant in case of any disturbance at night, he took to himself one of the bed-chambers of the middle floor, from which it was not possible afterwards to dislodge him ; and this apartment he was pleased to distinguish by the name of *his* room. His next attempt was to be admitted to mess with the family ; but here he failed of success. The bishop, disgusted with his forwardness and vulgar manners, avoided as much as possible all intercourse with him, and when he did ask him to sit down at his table (as at times he could scarcely help doing so without rudeness) it was evidently the result of constraint ; so that Mr. O'Donnel kept himself at a distance for the most part, but complained much of the ingratitude with which he was treated, after his great services in protecting the bishop and his family. The presence of such a lodger taught the people at the castle to feel for the situation of their neighbours of the town, annoyed, as they were known to be, by company of a still coarser mould. Day and night the stair case was infested with O'Donnel's levee, either with drunken boors from Erris, or his own kinsfolk the Macguires of Crosmalina, the principal of whom was a brewer of some substance, who for his good services to France by engaging himself and three or four sons in this rebellion, has lately been requited with a halter. His sons, strong brutes without mind or manners, but by aid of pillage provided with good clothes and arms, were back and forward at Killalla, concerting measures with their cousin O'Donnel, and, indeed, helping to make him less odious, when his behaviour was viewed in comparison with theirs.

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“ One of the Macguires, under colour of delivering a message to the commandant, had the insolence one day to thrust himself into the dining parlour, while the family were at dinner, and seemed to enjoy the alarm which his saucy countenance, his sword and pistols, occasioned among the ladies. The commandant instantly ordered him to leave the room, with a sharp rebuke for his presumption, declaring at the same time, that there were two hours of the twenty-four which he would not suffer to be wrested from him by any business whatsoever. Another of these three youths, Roger Macguire, carried himself with so much impertinence in his embassy at Castlebar (to be mentioned presently) as would have drawn destruction on his own head, if the safety of better people had not happened at that time to be included in his.

“ Disagreeable as an inmate, O'Donnel was not, however, without merit as an officer, and a guardian of the public peace. His first exertions were directed to preventing waste by the unnecessary slaughter of beasts. To supply the rebel camp, sheep and oxen had been driven in daily in such numbers, and with so little attention to economy, that as there was very little salt to be had, and the weather was rather warm, it was found necessary to bury many joints of fresh meat in the earth to prevent an infection. Of this abuse the commandant and the bishop were eye-witnesses one morning, being led to a back-yard in the town where lay the carcases of half a dozen bullocks just killed. O'Donnel received orders to lay before the magistrate Devitt, regular accounts of what fresh meat would be wanted by the troops on permanent duty. The magistrate was to issue a requisition for the supply demanded, sending a guard to take so much from the farmers, and no more. The beasts were to be taken to one particular spot, appointed for killing them: and proclamation was made, that any person caught in driving and killing, without a written order from the magistrate, should be instantly shot. By the vigilance of O'Donnel the order was tolerably well obeyed, though the consumption after all was certainly very great.

“ It was a novel situation to the bishop to be forced to subsist on plunder, both of meat and drink. The choicest beef and mutton from grazing grounds that feed the boast of the

markets of Dublin, excellent wines and spirits extracted from the cellars of his very good friends the neighbouring gentry, made their visits in due order at the castle, and were received, at first with groans and lamentations over the times, and at last with great equanimity, as a misfortune that could not be helped. At times, the company at the castle even felt a disposition to be merry on the arrival of one of these felonious cargoes. Some bottles of excellent hock, drawn from the cellars of the right Hon. colonel King at Ballina, came as a present from the French officer there to M. Charost. The wine on trial was found so good, that conscience began to mutter at the sin of assisting in the robbery of so hospitable a gentleman as the owner must have been, unless he might be proved guilty of some crime. He was therefore formally indicted for *loyalty*, for an obstinate adherence to his sovereign, and to the constitution under which he was born. The charge was easily proved, as colonel King was then just recovering from a shot through the body, which he had received at the battle of New Ross, fighting stoutly at the head of his regiment against the United Irishmen, the meritorious allies of France, and lovers of revolution. Of course he was pronounced *guilty* with acclamations, and his wine was confiscated without a dissenting voice.

CHAPTER XVII.

“**THE** confusion of the times had unavoidably suspended the exercise of public worship by the members of the established church. On the Lord’s-day, a considerable number from the town used to venture into the castle to join the family there at devotions, offered up with a seriousness and fervency suitable to the present distress. The worthy minister of the parish, dean Thompson, went through the church service, assisted by his curate; the bishop preached. We all found by experience, both lay and clergy, the truth of the psalmist’s declaration. *It is good for me that I have been in affliction.* Happy, if we shall be enabled by the divine aid, through the varying scenes of our future life, to retain the good feeling, and practise the lessons, which that awful period impressed upon us! Prayers were offering at the castle on the ninth of September, when the congregation was alarmed by hearing the sound of the cathedral bell. On inquiry it was found that Mr. O’Donnel had taken the key of the church out of the sexton’s house, and ordered the bell to be rung for the purpose of calling his Roman catholic followers to mass in the house of Mr. Morrison, a protestant merchant, who with his family, was forced to

witness the ceremony. The bishop was determined not to overlook such an encroachment. He went, immediately after divine service, to O'Donnel, expostulated calmly with him on an action which must awake the jealousy of the established church for the safety of what the law had put into their hands, and in conclusion, desired he would return the key, and for the future, give up all thought of using the church bell. With this demand O'Donnel, apparently softened by the manner in which it was urged, complied; nor was any attempt afterwards actually made on the cathedral by the Romanists, though in the camp they often expressed a resolution to seize upon it. The presence of the French always restrained them.

“Indeed, the contrast with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish allies, was extremely curious. The athiest despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, ‘that they had just driven Mr. Pope out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland.’ It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered their service, declare, ‘that they were come to take arms for France, and the *Blessed Virgin*.’ The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enterprise, was yet more surprising than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them, (from their foreign education,) being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop. A hair-brained priest of the name of Sweeney had escaped along with Boudet from Newport, when it was retaken, apprehensive of the punishment which afterwards overtook the poor wretch for the active part he had adopted in exciting his parishioners to rebellion. The man had a smattering of science, particularly in the antiquities of his country, of which

he seemed to be passionately fond. On being introduced by Boudet to the commandant, he preferred an humble request to that officer, that whereas every thing lately belonging to the protestants must now be French property, and inasmuch as soldiers were not usually covetous of books, he should be extremely obliged to M. Charost, if he would make him a present of the bishop of Killalla's library. 'The bishop's library!' answered Charost, turning from him with contempt, 'is just 'as much his own now, as ever it was.'

"What powerful motive could prevail on this order of men to lend their hearts and hands to a revolution, which so manifestly threatened to overwhelm their own credit and consequence, supposing even that they were indifferent to the fate of that religion of which they professed themselves to be the consecrated ministers? I will tell the reader what I conceive to be the true key to this mystery, if I may have his pardon for the digression.

"The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why, upon every popular commotion, many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a change of masters may render it heavier: the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach to perish. There was a time indeed, when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of civil government. But the reign of superstition is either past, or passing: at least if it holds the *mind* of the believer, it is not, by many degrees, so effectual as formerly to open his *purse*. Holy oil, and indulgencies, and absolutions, have fallen very much in their price; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive; and even the golden mine of purgatory seems to be running to a thread. Voluntary contribution, the main resource of the priest, must depend on popularity. 'Live with

me, and live as I do. Oppress me not with superior learning or refinement. Take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed and conduct'—such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in spite of penury: admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue which can withstand the menace of absolute want of bread. The remedy for this defect in the present political system of Ireland, should seem to be as easy as it is obvious. But it is not for a private individual to suggest to our enlightened legislature either the time or the measure in which such a remedy, ought to be applied.

“ Although the cathedral church of Killalla escaped violence in the manner related, there was scarcely another protestant place of worship throughout the united dioceses, that did not quickly bear evident marks of the religious intolerance of the rebels. But their malice was chiefly directed against a presbyterian meeting-house between Killalla and Ballina, the only one of the kind in the county. It had lately been fitted up and decently ornamented by the unwearied exertions of the minister, the reverend Mr. Marshall, whose exemplary character had entitled him to so much respect, that all his protestant neighbours, without distinction, had contributed to give him a handsome place of worship. In a very short time after the commencement of the rebellion, nothing remained of the meeting-house except the walls. The congregation experienced no better treatment than their temple. They were a colony of very industrious weavers from the north, translated hither some years back by the earl of Arran, to a village of his called Mullifarrach, where they had flourished so much, that they were grown rich, and had increased to the number of a thousand persons. The name of Orangemen had but just begun to be heard of in Connaught; and much it were to be wished, that no such society had ever appeared among us, to furnish to the Romanists too plausible a pretext for alarm and hostility against their protestant brethren. The bishop had opposed their establishment

with all his might. On the very day when the invasion happened, he was busied in entering a protest, in his primary visitation charge, against the first sentence of the oath by which Orangemen are united together, 'I am not a Roman catholic.' The words sounded in his ears too much like those in the prophet, *Stand off, I am holier than thou;* and assuredly they are not calculated to conciliate. The society had originated in the same northern county, which some years before had disgraced itself by an infamy new to protestants, an actual expulsion of Roman catholics from their homes. The perpetrators of this lawless deed were supposed to be chiefly presbyterians; and now upon the unoffending people of that persuasion in Connaught were to be retaliated the injuries done to the Romanists in Ulster. The village of Mullifarra, on pretence of searching for arms, was ransacked in three nocturnal invasions of the rebels, till there was nothing left in it worth carrying away; and this in defiance of a protection under the hand of the commandant, obtained for them and their pastor by the bishop. The poor sufferers came in tears to M. Charost, to return him a protection which had done them no good. It shocked him very much. Often did he whisper the bishop, that no consideration should prevail on him again to trust himself to such a horde of savages as the Irish.

"The cloud of common suffering makes the features of distinction between protestants, in the matter of religion, appear as nothing. Mr. Marshall having lost his own chapel, readily and devoutly joined us in our worship. Service being ended, he informed us, that the people of Sligo, after a smart action or two at Colooney on the preceding Thursday, had succeeded in turning the French from their own town towards the county of Leitrim, where it was probable they would meet a force from Enniskillen and Dublin, that would be able to give a good account of them. Castlebar, Newport-Pratt, and Westport, he assured us, were recovered, and nothing remained in the hands of the enemy but our town and Ballina. The joy of this news was presently dashed with the reflection, that if the French should push on, and be defeated at length in some place far removed from us, we must be left, absolutely

destitute of defence, at the mercy of rebels irritated by despair, and for a space of time quite sufficient to accomplish our destruction. The danger was felt and acknowledged; but as we could not by our own foresight avert it, we cast ourselves for the event on the good pleasure of Him, who knew best what was fitting for us.

"Mr. Marshall was the bearer this morning, Sept. 9th, of a fresh complaint from his people at Mullifarrach: they had not only been robbed of their goods, but a considerable number of them had been carried prisoners to Ballina for the alledged crime of being Orangemen, where, by permission of the French officer Truc, they remained close prisoners, with scarcely any thing for their support. This behaviour of Truc much displeased the commandant, as he had straitly charged that officer not to listen to accusations on a religious account, nor suffer any person to be confined for them. He thought it incumbent on him therefore to go immediately to Ballina to rectify matters there, and enforce a better execution of his orders, which he did, taking Ponson along with him. The business employed him the whole day, as he had above sixty prisoners to examine and discharge. During his absence, the loyalists at Killalla had not been very easy in their minds, committed as they were to the protection of M. Boudet only, and on the day of the week when danger was most to be apprehended, from the confluence of people out of the country to their prayers.

"Nothing, however, of an unpleasant nature occurred this or the two following days, except the usual annoyance from lies of the approach of an enemy, fabricated by the rebels to colour their importunity for ammunition. Seven hundred and fifty recruits were counted before the castle gate on the eleventh, who came to offer their services for retaking the neighbouring towns that had returned to their allegiance; and this, after arms had been delivered out by the French, as I mentioned before, to upwards of five thousand. The population in the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo much exceeds what the country, from its haggard appearance, would be thought capable of sustaining. These last recruits were extremely urgent to cut down two ash groves, planted to screen the see-

house from the winds that blow with so much fury in this climate. Pikes they must have, they said, since they were not supplied with other weapons; but they paid the bishop the compliment of promising to spare his trees, if he would only get them leave from the commandant to cut down those that belonged to his neighbour Roger Palmer, Esq. or to the agent of that gentleman, sir John Edmund Browne, who seemed to be very unpopular among them. With much difficulty, and with the sacrifice of three or four very good trees, they were prevailed upon to desist at that time from further mischief.

"September twelfth and thirteenth, the messengers of ill news poured in upon us continually, announcing fresh depredations on every side. Castlereagh, the seat of Arthur Knox, Esq. (brother-in-law to the earl of Meath) Castle Lacken, the property of sir John Palmer, Bart. were broke open and completely rifled. Mr. Bourke, of Summer-hill, informed the bishop by message, that he was threatened grievously, and in danger of murder, if he was not supplied presently with a guard and ammunition: he added in his note, that he had cash in the house, which he wished to have conveyed to the castle. A faithful domestic of Mr. Knox's came with tears in his eyes to the bishop, to beg he would send a party of men to Castlereagh, to snatch up what might yet be rescued from the spoilers, particularly a quantity of wine, spirits, and groceries, which, if they must be lost to his master, had better go to the use of the garrison in the castle, than to a parcel of ruffians.

"The want of horses was now felt severely. The bishop had but one left, which had been sent back to him by the French from Castlebar. This was dispatched with a car to Castlereagh, together with a party under O'Donnel, to bring off what goods he could to the castle. Another horse was found somewhere, to convey M. Boudet to Summer-hill; and as he could effect nothing without an interpreter, the bishop, much against his will, was obliged to trust his eldest son with this officer, through a country rendered almost as dangerous as a field of battle, by the inconsiderate firing of shots by the rebels in all directions. The pair walked and rode by turns, and a very unpleasant suspense prevailed at the castle till their return

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late in the evening. By their appearance at Summerhill, which was for the present restored to that place, Boudet rendered honourable testimony to the spirit with which Mr. Bourke defended his property against a host of marauders. But the bishop trembled at the hazard his son Edwin had incurred when Mr. Bourke prevailed on him to be the bearer to the castle of a hundred and seventy guineas in cash.

“While this was passing, all was confusion in the lower part of the castle, by the condition in which the party returned that had gone to Castlereagh. No expedient for saving wine and spirits from the unworthy mouths that were prepared to swallow them appeared to the messengers to be so real and effectual, as that of using the liquors instantly themselves. In consequence, the bishop’s butler returned from the expedition pot-valiant, quarrelled with the gardener and carter, presented a blunderbuss at the former, and provoked the bishop himself so much by saucy language, that he lost his temper and almost knocked the fellow down with a box on the ear. The commandant interposing, locked him up in his own parlour and left him to sleep there till morning. The man had been an excellent servant, and it is hoped will continue to be so in a place of less temptation. But the opportunity of gaining the arrival of the French was too alluring: he declared them immediately, served them only, to the neglecting of his master, betrayed the secrets of the cellar to them, talked of like a rebel, and in short did such things, as might have brought his neck in question, if his master had not, after the action of Killalla, recommended to him a speedy retreat out of the country. Some liquor, the groceries, and a quantity of furniture, the property of Mr. John Knox, were safely deposited in the castle.

“From Castle Lacken little or nothing could be saved. The manner in which this mansion, the old family seat of John Palmer, was surprised, is worth describing. Mr. Waldron, agent to the baronet, who rented the house, and had a very considerable property in and about it, had received a guarantee from the French, with which for some days he had been at pains to protect himself against his disorderly neighbours. The

guards however required guarding as much as the rest of their countrymen; and a plan was concerted, in consequence of which the house should appear to be taken by a sudden assault, in spite of all opposition. A horseman came in full gallop through the surrounding crowd to the door, announcing himself to be an express from the bishop at Killalla. The unwary owner unbarred his door, and in an instant the mob without and the guards within threw the unfortunate man on the floor, ran over him many times, dispersed his affrighted family of children and grand-children, completely gutted the house, and even carried away the flooring, drove off his stock, and in short did him damage (as he afterwards proved to the committee) little short of three thousand pounds. It was melancholy to see a family, accustomed to ease and comfort, arrive the next day at Killalla on foot, with nothing saved but the clothes on their backs. But this was a spectacle, to which we had now been too much familiarized. Mr. Waldron had another house and farm in the vicinity, which were presently after destroyed in as merciless a manner by the same savages.

“The farm-house of Mr. John Boyd (a worthy man, respectable also for his skill as a surveyer) though greatly exposed by standing single at a considerable distance from town, was preserved by a circumstance that may be reckoned curious, as it shews the light in which the insurgents beheld their French allies. Two soldiers of that nation, wounded, but not dangerously, at Castlebar, were sent to the commandant to be put into some place where they might be recovered. Mr. Boyd, by the bishop's advice, offered his own house as a quiet retreat for the men, who at the same time, from the respect paid by the rebels to the French, might be a security to him and his family. The offer was accepted, and proved effectual for the purpose intended; for though gangs of robbers frequently threatened the house, no attack was actually made on it, as long as the foreigners (very well behaved poor fellows) continued in it, which was for upwards of a fortnight. It cost much exertion afterwards to defend the same house to the end of the troubles.”

CHAPTER XVIII.

“ **SEPTEMBER** the twelfth, in the evening, the light of hope began to open on the loyalists of Killalla. Something must have happened, they whispered one another, to the prejudice of the French arms, as an express arrived from Ballina, and was sent back in wet and darkness almost immediately; the French officers also, from that time, looked very much dejected. Next morning, a prisoner was brought in from Ballina, supposed to be of note, because the commandant wished the bishop to be present at his examination.

“ It proved to be William Charles Fortescue, Esq. nephew and heir to Lord Clermont, and member for the county of Louth, a gentleman with whom the bishop had not the honour of being before acquainted. The conversation between him and M. Charost passing in the French language, and in a low tone of voice, the bishop was on the point of quitting the room, when Mr. Fortescue announced himself in English to be the brother of the young clergyman already mentioned, as having received a mortal wound in the first rencounter with the French. No certain intelligence of his death had reached Dublin; so that Mr. F. was instigated by affection for an excellent and only brother to set out on horseback for Ballina, attended by one servant, resolved to take his chance, if that town should

yet be in the hands of the rebels, though, when he left the capital, it was believed to have returned, along with the rest of the county, to the king's peace. On his way he had passed through Granard, just after the battle of Ballinamuck, where he had seen general Humbert and his officers, going as prisoners of war to Dublin; and even then he had no intimation, that he might not proceed without danger as far as Ballina. He did not discover his mistake, till he was arrested by a patrol within a short distance from that town. The commanding officer there, M. Truc, with his usual brutality charged him with coming there as a spy to intimidate the friends of liberty by a false report of the defeat of their army, detained the servant and baggage, and sent the master to Killalla to be examined by Charost. From the description Mr. Fortescue gave him of the persons of the French officers whom he had seen prisoners, the commandant could have no doubt of the defeat of his countrymen, even though he had not been furnished with a more convincing proof by the receipt of two letters from officers in the French army, stating the capture of their whole force near the iron mines in the county of Leitrim, together with the dispersion of their Irish allies, on the Saturday preceeding.

"These letters the commandant made no scruple of imparting to the bishop, with an air of confidence in his honour, and his discretion, which was certainly very flattering. He gave him leave at the same time to discourse on the subject with Mr. Fortescue, only admonishing them both of the present danger of divulging the secret. Of such a caution, in truth, they stood in very little need: for it was plainly the interest of the loyalists to observe the strictest silence with regard to the ill posture of the affairs of the rebels, lest these should be on their backs before the king's army could come to their relief. Mr. Fortescue was taking his leave of the commandant to return to his disagreeable confinement under Truc, when the bishop, in French, (that Charost might object, if he pleased) invited him to share bed and board with them at the castle, an offer which, after some apologies, was thankfully accepted, and Mr. Fortescue's condition, though far inferior to that he was used to,

became easy from thenceforth in comparison of what he had endured at Ballina. The presence of this gentleman was of great service in supporting the spirits of the company at the castle; for, having attained to the rank of major in the army, he possessed a steadiness of mind in danger, and a prudence, the result of experience, which often suggested the most salutary counsels.

“Concealment of the news from Ballinamuck was not long practicable. People who had escaped from the slaughter came in hourly to offer their services to the commandant, though several of them carried in their persons evident marks how little they had gained by their zeal for the cause. The intelligence did not seem by any means to produce on the minds of the rebels the effect that might naturally have been expected, their gradual dispersion and return to their own homes. On the contrary, the resort to the camp in the bishop’s meadows grew greater every day; the talk of vengeance on the protestants was louder and more frequent; the rebels were drilled regularly, ammunition was demanded, and every preparation made for an obstinate defence against the arms of their sovereign. Careless of the future, or trusting to the delay which must be occasioned by the distance of the king’s army, they thought of nothing but living merily, as long as they might, upon the property that lay at their mercy; and they did use their power of doing mischief most terribly. Spoil was not the sole, or even the principal, object of their leaders; for they destroyed in every decent habitation much more than they carried away. Depression of the industrious and better sort, the universal levelling of conditions, in order to bring on the glorious reign of equality, such appeared to be the wish of those who aspired at all to the praise of thinking, and called themselves *republicans*: the mob had no prompters but lust of pillage and superstition. For, that enmity to the protestant religion entered into the motives of the devastation in Connaught, cannot with any shew of reason be denied, since it is notorious that, except during the indiscriminate plunder which took place at the capture of Castlebar, very few instances occurred, throughout the province, of the house or property of a Roman catholic being injured by the rebels.

“ Very different from those of the natives were the feelings of the French officers at Killalla, after they were assured of the miscarriage of their enterprise. Conceiving their task of annoying Britain to be for the present concluded, and expecting shortly to join their brother officers in Dublin, they looked to nothing but to the preserving of peace and quiet round about them, till a regular English force should approach, to which they might, without discredit, render themselves prisoners. They did not, indeed, profess so much to the rebels. On the contrary, they appeared always ready to train the men to arms, and to head them in any enterprise they proposed against the common enemy. But at the same time the commandant frequently warned them, that he would have no hand in incursions for pillage: ‘ he was *Chef de Brigade*,’ he said, ‘ but not *Chef de Brigands* ;’ and if ever he caught them preparing to spoil and murder protestants, he and his officers should side with the protestants against them to the very last extremity. He took extraordinary care also to be provided against the worst. Twelve good carabines, properly loaded, stood always ready in the bed-chamber where the three officers slept. Arms were distributed to seven or eight trusty persons of the bishop’s family. A guard of eighteen (whom, as I said, it was necessary to keep an eye upon) watched in and round the house. The Frenchmen themselves were extremely alert, allowing themselves very little sleep, and scarcely any in the night, for ten days together. The steady undisturbed countenance of Charost added weight to his preparations.

“ The 18th of Sept. was a day of continual alarm. Reports from the rebel camp just beside us grew stronger than ever, that a mutiny was breaking out. About three o’clock, as the bishop and commandant were walking in the garden, one of the leaders of the rebels came in a great hurry to assure them, it was the determined purpose of the camp immediately to imprison, in the cathedral, every protestant as a pledge for their own security, in case of the arrival of the king’s army. The man was dismissed with thanks for the warning, and desire to tell his countrymen, ‘ that we were ready for them.’ A good din-

ner soon after stopt their mouths, as it used to do: for we remarked, that the rebels in camp were always most inclined to cabal, and do mischief, while their dinner was preparing: when they had been regaled with beef and mutton, and a moderate share of whiskey, they became good-humoured and tractable.

“ On the 19th, at noon, they were hungry and quarrelsome again. The commandant, with a guard of thirty men, marched about the town, proclaiming his orders to the men to go to their homes, immediately after they had received their allowance of beef. While he was thus engaged, a crowd gathered about the gate. The armed began to mutter as well as the unarmed. At last the bishop stepped out to them, and asked what they wanted.

“ They had heard, that many of their kinsmen and friends were in close confinement at Castlebar; and if they thought that was really the case, they could not be blamed for wishing to retaliate on the protestants here.

“ Are you sure of the fact?—No.

“ Why then, said the bishop, would it not be just and prudent to send messengers to Castlebar, whom you could trust, for a true report, before you proceed further.

“ Right: but who will go on such an errand?

“ Take one of your own people, replied the bishop, with one of ours, to go immediately to the commanding officer at Castlebar. Let them carry a flag of truce, and a letter from me to general Trench, or other officer commanding there, setting forth our situation, and our hope that nothing would be done to the prisoners at Castlebar which may provoke reprisals on the protestants at Killalla. Disperse now, and you shall have a full and fair statement of things by to-morrow. Let the persons to go with the flag be dean Thompson and Mr. Roger Macguire.

“ With the populace half the work of persuasion is frequently over, when you can get them to listen. The bishop made the family one day merry by relating what he had just overheard. Two country fellows were disputing and pulling each other by the throat in the court-yard, when one cried to the

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other, 'Come away to the bishop, he will settle it for us—he makes us *hear one another*.'

"The promised letter was presently written, and received with applause by the mutineers. The choice of ambassadors was likewise ratified by general consent; for young Macguire was an active partizan of the rebels, and dean Thompson's character high in the estimation of all descriptions of people, and his influence at Castlebar, where he had been curate for nineteen years, was known to be equal to his merit. It was agreed, that the messengers should set out for Castlebar at four the next morning, and till they returned, nothing should be attempted.

"It was a great exertion for dean Thompson to undertake this perilous errand, and greater on the part of his wife to consent to it. The mountain road was to be taken to Castlebar, as the shortest; but it was a wild country, swarming with robbers; neither was it at all certain, that the protestant messenger would not be arrested on the way by the friends of Macguire, who might have consented to the embassy only to get such a person as the dean into their hands. If he was justly uneasy, his lady was still more to be pitied, encumbered as she was with the charge of four young children, and far advanced in her pregnancy. But this worthy couple, seeing no measure so likely as the proposed one to rescue themselves and their friends, acquiesced in it without a murmur, and committed the issue to Providence.

"Mysterious are the ways of Divine Providence! unfathomable the depth of that wisdom, which often concedes a boon, only to try us afterwards by withdrawing it! Little didst thou foresee, amiable and unhappy woman, that the husband, whose escape from that peril transported thee with so much joy and gratitude to heaven, should in the succeeding year be torn for ever from thee by a fever, contracted in the course of his ministry by attendance on a sick bed. Be comforted, however. His virtues, though in the mid-season of life, had rendered him full ripe for the great harvest. Thou hast it in thy power to earn a splendid recompence hereafter by patience, by attention to thy fatherless offspring!

“ The night of the nineteenth was past by almost the entire family at the castle without sleep. At midnight, as they were going to rest, one of the Macguires, from Crosmalina, burst in upon them with the news, that his troop had just been fired upon by the English, who might be expected at Killalla immediately. It was not probable, that a regular force would be exposed to the chances of an engagement with such a crew in the night; but the story had the same effect as if it was true. The house was up all night, and had the pleasure of listening to the uproar made by the two Macguires, Roger and the new comer, in getting most beastly drunk in their cousin O'Donnel's room, till the commandant at last cuffed, and turned them both out of doors. In the morning, the false reporter from Crosmalina slipped home again, rather ashamed of himself; but his brother, the ambassador, could not be found to go on his errand till it was near noon. The dean and he then set out on horseback, well armed with swords and pistols.

“ A troublesome consequence of the report brought by Macguire was, that it furnished a pretence to the pikemen, dismissed the day before by the commandant, to return to the town with offers of serving against the approaching enemy. In two hours the camp was said to number two thousand men. To do them justice, the peasantry never appeared to want animal courage, for they flocked together to meet danger whenever it was expected. Had it pleased heaven to be as liberal to them of brains as of hands, it is not easy to say to what length of mischief they might have proceeded; but they were all along unprovided with leaders of any ability. Bellew, their earliest officer, was a drunken brute, to whom nobody paid obedience, even before he was turned out of office by the commandant. Little better, either for talent or sobriety, was O'Dowd, a man of some estate in the county, and almost the only gentleman that took arms with the rebels, for which he paid the forfeit of his life at Ballinamuck. Mr. Richard Bourke, of Ballina, before-mentioned, had some military knowledge, was a good drill serjeant, firm in combat, and popular; so that he might have done the harm he wished, if the habitual stupefaction of drink had not been an overmatch for his malice. O'Donnel

knew nothing of arms, nor was he likely to learn the profession quickly, his petulance making him unfit for discipline, inso-much that at one time Charost was forced to lay him under an arrest for some hours for quitting the neighbourhood, the night before, without orders. Yet the vulgar, who can discern in others what they have not in themselves, followed this young man more readily than any other who pretended to lead them, because they saw he had more sense, more command of himself, and more moderation in the exercise of authority. Even the loyalists at Killalla acknowledged obligation to him for the industry with which they saw him exert himself to prevent pil-lage, patrolling the streets on horseback for several nights together, and withholding, both by threats and persuasion, those whom he found bent upon mischief.

“ There were times, when nothing could withhold them but blows. On the 20th, the house of the custom-house officer, Mr. Rutledge, was again attacked by a band of ruffians, after it had been three or four times ransacked before. The pretence was, that it contained tobacco, an article of which the country people are so fond, that they bear the want of it more impatiently than that of food. To quell the riot, Ponson was called from a nap he was taking, after being up all night. Alone he fell upon the whole crew, and aiming a blow at the foremost pil-lager, brought the fellow to the ground, to his infinite dismay; but the effort bent and broke the bayonet. Yet the dastardly assailants were put to the rout by this spirited exertion, and dispersed.

“ Friday morning, the 21st, brought another diorderly gang to molest the castle. These called themselves a deputation from the camp. They had heard, that Mr. Bourke of Summerhill was fully purposed to employ a guard he had received from the commandant in harassing the families of his poor neighbours, while the heads of them were fighting for liberty; and they were come to ask leave to take him up. ‘ You may ‘ go, if you please,’ answered Charost, ‘ but I will follow you ‘ with my officers, and fire upon you, if I catch you in the act ‘ of plundering Summer-hill.’ The affair was compromised by O’Donnel’s going over to Summerhill with a letter to Mr.

Bourke from the commandant, to warn him that he should content himself with acting on the defensive only, as he expected to have his guard left with him. Mr. Bourke needed no such warning, for he had never trusted the guard within his doors. What provoked the commonalty so much against this gentleman was the thought, that he should have it to boast he had set the whole body of united Irish at defiance for a month together. Even O'Donnel did not like to give him such matter of triumph.

“ After breakfast the same day, the bishop went into the town with M. Charost, to assist him in ordering a newly-arrived body of pikemen to go home to their harvest. It was a service of danger. About one hundred surly looking fellows were to be told, that the commandant had got men enough to guard the place (which was now his only business here) and did not desire to be troubled with a pack of robbers. Charost begged his interpreter to signify this to the people in words of *command*, such as would leave no doubt or dispute about his meaning; and Ponson, to enforce the order, pursued the rear of the body with his firelock, with expressions of contempt and anger so ridiculous, as to provoke the smiles of the loyalists, though plainly contrary to prudence. The pikemen muttered threats as they retired, both against the protestants and their abettors, as they called the French; and from that time accounts came in hourly, that they were resolved not to disperse, as they were ordered to do, but would choose new leaders, and plunder the town that very evening, in spite of the French and of O'Donnel. They seemed to wait only for the return of the ambassadors, whose arrival was indeed anxiously expected by all parties.

“ At four o'clock the castle family had a message, just before dinner, from an eye-witness, that the king's army were advancing in great numbers, and by two roads from Castlebar. They must be at Ballina, it was said, by this time. Dinner was laid on the table, notwithstanding. In the midst of it, in rushed Thomas Kirkwood, a young officer of yeoman cavalry, with news that the attack on our front gate was commencing by about a score of armed men. Such a number did not fright-

en us. 'Stay till they get to a head,' says the commandant. We drank away, till they had increased to near fifty. Then the commandant took his hat, and marching out with his two officers fully armed, he steps forward to the pikemen, orders them to retire from the musqueteers, divides the latter into three platoons, and sets them directly to go through their exercise. Occupied for some time with these movements, they had not leisure to apply themselves to worse, and thus were easily persuaded at last to disperse.

"A loud shout at six in the evening proclaimed the safe return of our two ambassadors. Great was the joy of the whole town at the sight of them, when we begun to despair of their appearance, at least before morning. They brought back a very polite letter to the bishop from general Trench, assuring him that his prisoners were, and should be, treated with all possible tenderness and humanity. The letter was publicly read to the multitude, and left in their hands. No disturbance ensued that night; but the trepidation was so great, that the castle could scarcely contain the refugees. Not fewer than fourscore persons were housed in it. Nine of these, including Mr. Fortescue, slept on the floor of the bishop's study. In their own bed-chamber the bishop and his lady were obliged to find room for four children of their own, and as many more of a neighbour, together with their terrified mother. Fear, we know, is a passion not much troubled with qualms of delicacy.

CHAPTER XIX.

“ **OUR** mission to Castlebar had the effect that was foreseen and wished. Dean Thompson, though very closely watched by his fellow-messenger, as long as the latter was able to keep himself awake, found means to have a private conference with general Trench, in which he painted to him the the desperate situation of the loyalists at Killalla in so strong a light, that the general promised to march to our relief two days sooner than he had purposed to do, and desired him to tell the bishop, but with a strict injunction of secrecy, that he might expect his army by Sunday forenoon. Arthur Stock sent his father a note, that he was very well and happy at Castlebar, and hoped to be with us shortly. The bishop shook his head, as if he doubted much whether his son should find us alive.

“ In effect the whole interval of time between general Trench’s promise and its completion, was a period of keener anxiety than is commonly crowded into an equal space in any man’s life. Clamour, and then a silence more terrible than clamour, reigned by turns in and about the castle. Our guards

cast their eyes upon us with an uncertainty truly alarming; they seemed to hesitate whether they should plunge the bayonet in our breasts, or fall on their knees to implore our protection.

“Early on Saturday morning, the loyalists were desired by the rebels to come up with them to the hill on which the Needle-tower is built, in order to be eye witnesses of the havoc a party of the king’s army was making, as it advanced towards us from Sligo. A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of unfortunate peasants. ‘They are only a few cabins,’ remarked the bishop; and he had scarcely uttered the words, when he felt the imprudence of them. ‘A poor man’s cabin,’ answered one of the rebels, ‘is to him as valuable as a palace.’ Presently after comes a priest from Easky-bridge in that country, named Macdonald, with intelligence apparently calculated to quiet their minds: ‘It was only a few farm-houses that had been burned, because they belonged to noted pillagers.’ This he said in public; many believed at the time, that he told a different story privately to those of his communion. O’Donnel, the busiest of all men this day, made an offer of his service: he would go at the head of a party, and bring back information to be relied on. The people were silent. They did not know whom to trust. The captain might be as bad as the priest. All were looking to self-preservation, except the dregs of the commonality that longed for pillage.

“At three o’clock, the report of cannon and small arms towards Ballina could plainly be heard in the town; the very flash of the artillery was discerned from the Steeple-hill. The commandant was on horseback among the pike-men, whose captains he found busy in framing resolutions for an obstinate defence. The guard at the gate began now to slip away, mindful only of their own safety, and leaving to the mercy of every invader the family that had fed, and for the last seven days had also paid them for their attendance, at the rate of two guineas a-day. For on a complaint from their captain, O’Donnel, that his men thought it very hard to be detained on military duty, at a time when they could each earn above a shilling

a-day at the harvest, the bishop had agreed to pay the ordinary guard of the town, consisting of fifty men, ten pence per man for one week, leaving the same burden to be sustained by the town's people for the week immediately following; and the guard, that were now melting from him, had received their first week's pay. Some of the poor fellows, however, continued on their post to the last. During the whole of Saturday morning, the castle was more still and quiet than at any time since the invasion, it had been even at midnight.

"The hour of dinner was not equally tranquil. As the cloth was removing, O'Donnel joins the company to take a solemn leave of us, being on the point, he said, of leading his men, at their own desire, to Ballina. He takes one glass, filled out for him by Mrs. Stock, com mends us to heaven, and disappears. In five minutes, the parlour door flies open with a crash; the bishop's gardener enters exclaiming, 'Captain O'Donnel is dead! he has been this moment killed by one of his own men.' At his back followed Mr. Marshall, the presbyterian minister, who with arms extended, and every symptom of terror, screeches out, 'Captain O'Donnel is dead! I saw 'him this instant pulled from his horse, and killed!'

'Thank you, Mr. Marshall,' said the dean, looking at his affrighted wife, in her then condition; 'you have done your best to kill more than one of us.'

"The bishop also was hurt by this unguarded action of Mr. Marshall, and with some sharpness expressed a wish 'that he could defend his family from the intrusion of ill news, at least at meal times.' The poor man looked so mortified at the reproof, that the blow recoiled instantly on him that gave it. Mr. M. withdrew—but the bishop sought him out soon after, and asked and obtained his pardon.

"All rose to inquire about O'Donnel. He was found in the yard with only a slight wound in the back of his hand. A drunken fellow had resisted his orders, when he desired his men to march, and being struck with a pistol, fell, and pulled the captain off his horse upon his back on the ground. O'Donnel was on his feet in a moment, and with the butt end of his pistol laid open the skull of the offender, whom he

left in the guard-room. He himself was soon in a condition to resume his march, and away he went with about three hundred followers, taking the road to Crosmalina. Ponson, who was sent out to reconnoitre, now came back with news, that the English were within four miles of Killalla; and with this the inconsiderate creature betook himself to his customary employment of singing and whistling.

“The night was uncommonly wet, which contributed to our quiet. Favourable in this respect, the season was much against us in another; for it retarded the march of our deliverers to that degree, that general Trench was not able to keep his promise of being with us in the forenoon of next day, having found it necessary to encamp for the night at Crosmalina. Here an alarm, and some confusion among the king's troops, was occasioned by their picquet of sixteen horse falling in with young Macguire, who with two horsemen had advanced about a mile before O'Donnel's men from Killalla, and came up with the picquet after night-fall. Macguire boldly charged them, fired his pistol, and followed them into the very town, assisted by the darkness, till on hearing the drums beat to arms, he thought it prudent to retire. His cousin O'Donnel had committed the charge of his party to this youth, being himself unable to proceed on the march farther than Rappagh, the seat of Mr. Knox, where a sickness at stomach overtook him, which forced him to accept a bed from young Mr. Knox, after he had procured from that gentleman a drink for his three hundred men. On the strength of this liquor the rebels bore the fatigue of a rainy march very well, till Macguire, their vaunt courier, brought them word that the royal army was beating to arms at Crosmalina. Then, for the first time, they began to recollect, that they had too little ammunition to stand a regular engagement. So they took counsel from their leader (or their fears) and listening with pleasure to the salutary word ‘Retreat,’ they broke and made the best of their way, most of them, to their own homes; about thirty of the stoutest were collected in the morning by O'Donnel, who led them back to Killalla.

“ On this night, as well as for the nine that preceded it, the gentlemen that slept in the library took their turns at watching till morning for the common safety, and visiting the guards posted through the house. All were harrassed by a duty so fatiguing, but the French Officers most, who for several nights together did not enjoy an hour’s repose. The family spoke in whispers one to another, some desponding, some blaming the tardiness of government in sending us relief, some inquiring anxiously for news, and some endeavouring to steal into privacy, where they might unload their hearts with freedom before the Throne of Mercy.

“ The twenty-third of September, Sunday, and the day of the equinox, opened on us with the same heavy fall of rain which had continued throughout the night ; but the sky cleared before noon. At breakfast our company was enlarged by the addition of two fugitive officers from Ballina, Messrs Truc and O’Keon.—‘ The English were come to Ballina. What man could do, the heroic Truc had atchieved. An English officer had summoned him to render himself prisoner, and advanced to lay hold of him ; but he shook him off, and in the struggle pulled away the officer’s epaulette,’ which he produced in triumph, ‘ got on horseback, and with O’Keon, whom he overtook on the road, was come to fight it out to the last at Killalla.’ This vapouring tale was soon discovered to be a downright lie. Truc, in the confusion when Ballina was entered by the king’s troops, had escaped on the first horse he could catch, bringing with him an old volunteer epaulette, the property of colonel King, and stolen by Truc out of the colonel’s ward-robe. The appearance of this man corresponded with the character we had heard of him—a front of brass, an incessant fraudulent smile, manners altogether vulgar, and in his dress and person a neglect of cleanliness, even beyond the affected negligence of republicans. Our poor commandant seemed to like him no better than we did ourselves, though he was forced to welcome him at our breakfast with a kiss on each cheek, the modern fraternal embrace—a sight that would have provoked our smiles, had we been in a humour to be amused. But every thought was now

absorbed by the expectation of the approaching scene: even the sacred duties of the day were for the first time suspended.

“ Before he took horse for the engagement, O'Donnel claimed the privilege of a messmate to ask counsel of Mr. Fortescue and the bishop what he should do. ‘ I think I might expect pardon,’ said he, ‘ from the share I have had in preserving the peace of this district. But the people would never forgive me if I did not stand by them now; and their revenge would follow me into Erris, should I attempt to retreat home. I am not afraid to die; but if I could save my life with honour, I would.’ No counsel, it was evident, could be given him, but that he should fight till he saw the battle turn (which, his advisers told him, would not be a long time) and then endeavour to escape to his own country. The young man followed this advice, as far as he was able. Pushed into the town with the fugitives, he galloped about the streets to bring up a reinforcement, when a spirited mare was shot under him. He then escaped on foot to the fields on the other side from the scene of action, where incumbered as he was with boots and a long French surtout coat, he was soon overtaken, and pierced with a ball through the back. The Highlander that killed him reported his last words to be, ‘ I am Ferdy O'Donnel: go tell the bishop I am shot.’ The bishop was sorry for his death. Harrassed as he had been by his forward and pert behaviour, during the long space of time O'Donnel had passed under his roof, an uninvited guest, he could not forget the services he had rendered to the town by frequently hazarding his person to restrain plunderers. The body, which after being stript had been thrown into a potatoe ridge, was by the bishop's order removed three days after, and interred in the churchyard.

“ The peaceful inhabitants of Killalla were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold—a battle! a sight which no person that has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives from Ballina, women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town, where they might hope for a momen-

tary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

“ The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the king’s troops. They had a strong guard also on the other side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that general Trench had divided his forces at Crosmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of lieutenant-colonel Crosbie and Maurice Fitzgerald, the knight of Kerry; their colonel, the earl of Glandore, attending the general. It is a circumstance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killalla, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers to lose no time in coming to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite side, though they had a league more of road to perform.

“ The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of the rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a show. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceed eight or nine hundred.

“ The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears. Mr. Fortescue very humanely took upon him the direction of the women and children, whom he placed as far

as he could from the windows, and made them remain prostrate on the carpets till the business was quite over. He himself could not refrain from taking his stand at a window of the library looking seaward, which, with the other windows of that room, he had barricaded with beds, leaving room to peep over them. A malicious rascal in the sea-grove observed his position, and calling to a woman in the road to stand out of his way till he should 'do for that tall fellow,' he discharged the contents of a carabine full at the window, with such effect, that twelve slugs made as many holes in passing through the glass. The bed saved the lives of Mr. Fortescue and Henry Stock, the bishop's son, who was standing behind; but two of the slugs were lodged in Mr. Fortescue's forehead, providentially without penetrating the bone, or hurting him materially, though one slug was not extracted till a considerable time afterward, when he reached Dublin.

"The bishop saw the action from behind the breast of a chimney, where he could only be reached by an oblique shot. Curiosity, and the interest we all felt in the event, prompted every man in the house to expose his person by creeping to the windows. Our French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain, and had avowed to us their determination to surrender to the very superior force that was coming against them.

"We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy, yet (strange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of Highlanders (Fraser's fencibles) filed off to the right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges and walls; they had marshy ground on the left to surmount before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havoc among them. Then followed the Queen's-county

militia and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day.

“ After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of towns-folk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. It happened that the measure was attended with the desired success. A great number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry militia from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory forming one of the horns of the bay of Killalla. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

“ Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves. The first house, after passing the bishop's, is that of Mr. William Kirkwood, the magistrate so often mentioned. Its situation exposed it on this occasion to peculiar danger, as it fronts the main street, which was raked entirely by a line of fire. A flying rebel had burst through the door, followed by six or seven soldiers; they poured a volley of musquetry after him that proved fatal to Mr. Andrew Kirkwood, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out, ‘ God save the king.’ Presentiments, as they are called, of evil should be resisted, for they often work their own accomplishment. This poor man, though nobody wished more ardently than he did to see the town recovered from the rebels, had taken up a strong persuasion that he should not out-live that event. Of course, he grew more restless every hour, in proportion as the time of the conflict drew nigh. The whole of the evening before, he continued to importune his wife

with directions how he would have his family concerns disposed; and when the firing began, he could not contain himself in his own house, where he had the best chance of remaining safe, and where those who staid received no hurt, but removed to the very insecure dwelling of his kinsman: here he met his fate in the manner related, by a ball through the brain. A purse of guineas, which, with the inconsistency of a distracted mind, he had stowed into his pocket, though he expected death, disappeared, while they were moving his body from the passage into the kitchen.

“ In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle, most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaping with life by lying prostrate on the floor as at the castle. Nor was it till the close of the next day that our ears were relieved from the horrid sound of muskets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. The plague of war so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety; it is actual inspection only, that shews the monster in its proper deformity.

“ When the army was beginning to move from Crosmalina, they passed by a wounded man lying at the road side, bleeding to death by a dreadful cut across the face, and to appearance expiring. Not a few stopt to look at him, and remarked that it would be an act of charity to put him out of his pain by dispatching him; but nobody had the heart to do it. After all had passed him, Arthur Stock, the bishop’s son, who brought up the rear, looking back saw the poor creature lift up his hands in a despairing manner, as if he complained of them for not terminating his misery. Familiarity with scenes of this kind blunts and overcomes the instincts of our nature; and it is necessary for the common safety, that in some breasts they should be overcome. But it would be well if the thoughtless multitude, who are so ready to rush into civil war, could have an insight from time to time into its sanguinary effects.

“ What heart can forget the impression it has received from the glance of a fellow-creature pleading for his life, with a crowd of bayonets at his breast? The eye of Demosthenes never emitted so penetrating a beam, in his most enraptured flight of oratory. Such a man was dragged before the bishop on the day after the battle, while the hand of slaughter was still in pursuit of unresisting peasants through the town. In the agonies of terror, the prisoner thought to save his life by crying out, ‘ that he was known to the bishop.’ Alas! the bishop knew him not; neither did he look like a good man. But the arms and the whole body of the person to whom he flew for protection were over him immediately. Memory suggested rapidly—

‘ What a piece of workmanship is man! the beauty of the world, the paragon of animals!—’*

“ ‘ And you are going to deface this admirable work.’ As indeed they did. For though the soldiers promised to let the unfortunate man remain in custody till he should have a trial; yet when they found he was not known, they pulled him out of the court-yard, as soon as the bishop’s back was turned, and shot him at the gate.”

* Hamlet.

X x

CHAPTER XX.

AS soon as matters had been brought to the decision of the sword, the friends of government had little cause to be apprehensive for themselves; but their fears were justly awake for the condition in which they might possibly find those of their own party at Killalla. 'Is the bishop alive? are his family unhurt?' These were the first questions that were asked by every officer as he came up to the castle gate, and with an earnestness that warmed the hearts of those that heard them. That amiable nobleman, the earl of Portarlington, colonel of the Queen's-county militia (who has since paid, alas! the forfeit of a most valuable life to exertions beyond his strength in suppressing the rebellion) when he was told the bishop was safe, exclaimed with clasped hands, 'God be praised!' and continued his pursuit of the rebels, so that the bishop never had the opportunity of thanking his lordship for his kindness to one almost a stranger to him. In the troop of horse that swept the rebels before them into the town, was Arthur Stock, armed only with a sabre, and in an old red jacket quite too large for him. The humanity of general Trench had provided this mode of conveying him to us from Castlebar, as the safest he could contrive for him. With a breathless impatience the poor youth threw

himself from his horse at the gate to ask the question that Joseph puts to his brethren, *Doth my father yet live?* It was a tender scene; for every body was eager to press to his bosom an adventurer of sixteen years, who had suffered so much hardship. He had been in the action at Castlebar, where the pike-men under O'Keon were put to the rout; and he had passed the last night under so heavy a rain, that he was compelled after some time to take off all his clothes, and make his bed of wet straw on the floor of a cabin. A slight disorder was the consequence, which happily soon went off.

"Charost expressed as much joy at seeing Arthur safe, as if he had himself been one of the family. Yet the poor commandant had no reason to be pleased at the treatment he had received immediately after the action. He had returned to the castle for his sabre, and advanced with it to the gate, in order to deliver it up to some English officer, when it was seized and forced from his hand by a common soldier of Frazer's. He came in, got another sword, which he surrendered to an officer, and turned to re-enter the hall. At this moment a second Highlander burst through the gate, in spite of the sentinel placed there by the general, and fired at the commandant, with an aim that was near proving fatal; for the ball passed under his arm, piercing a very thick door entirely through, and lodging in the jamb. Had we lost the worthy man by such an accident, his death would have spoiled the whole relish of our present enjoyment. He complained, and received an apology for the soldier's behaviour from his officer. Leave was immediately granted to the French officers to keep their swords, their effects, and even their bed-chamber in the house. But the bishop found a difficulty to obtain the same indulgence for O'Keon, whose plea that he was a naturalized Frenchman, was pretty generally disregarded, and himself considered as an Irish rebel, to be speedily brought before a court-martial. However, at last they were allowed to be kept together, including their cannoneer, and a little French servant of O'Keon's till the following day.

"General Trench was received by the bishop and his family, in the lobby, with a welcome, of the sincerity of which there

could be very little doubt. He expressed, in very polite terms, his satisfaction at the deliverance of this family from so great a peril as had hung over us for the last month; adding, that he had not failed to use every exertion to come to our relief, from the moment that our embassy had fully apprised him of our distressful situation. He then presented to the bishop his principal officers, with some of whom he was previously well acquainted, particularly his much valued college intimate, the earl of Glandore. Lieutenant-colonel Crosbie, major Fitzgerald (commonly called the knight of Kerry,) major Trench, brother to the general's nephew and aid-de-camp, major Taylor; major Acheson, son to Lord Gosford, colonel Frazer, major M'Donald, captain Harrison, the commissary, colonel Jackson, and some officers of the county militia, as Mr. Ormesby, Mr. Orme, and others, paid their compliments of congratulation, and were accommodated by the bishop in the best manner he was able. Bed and board was provided for five resident officers, and occasionally every day for some others.

"The commandant and his party were ordered away on Tuesday, to Castlebar, with the Kerry regiment. Horses were found, not without difficulty, to convey their persons: the bulk of their effects was forwarded to them, on their arrival in Dublin, by the bishop. We parted, not without tears, with our friends and protectors. The good-natured reader will doubtless share in the pleasure, with which we record the notice that was taken every where of our French officers, for the part they had acted at Killalla. Our government was pleased to forward them presently to London, giving them what money they wanted, for their draft on the commissary of prisoners, Niou; so that, passing but two or three days in Dublin, they could dine but twice with the bishop's connections, my lord Primate making them partake of his hospitality one day, and alderman Kirkpatrick another. From London, the bishop had a letter from the committee for taking care of French prisoners, desiring to be informed in what manner he, and his, had been treated by the French officers; and, on the bishop's report, an order was obtained, that citizens Charost, Boudet, and Ponson, should be set at liberty, and sent home without

exchange.* They overtook their general at Dover; who was so sensible of the attention shewn to his officers, that he wrote to the bishop a letter, of which a translation appeared in the Dublin journal, and since, in the narrative published by Jones. The original will be found in our appendix.

“The week that followed the battle was employed in court-martial in the morning, and in most crowded dinners at the castle in the evening, a whole bullock was consumed in two days, as the bishop had not less than forty people to feed, besides the officers, and the principals of his own household. General Trench did his best to help out the mess, sharing his bread and fuel with us, and supplying us with beef when he could get it. Mr. Denis Browne, lord Altamont’s brother, sent the general at one time a whole, and again half a buck, desiring, in return, an immediate remittance of three hundred men to drive away the rebels from Westport. Whether the party went, I did not hear; the venison deserved it. Our greatest want was wine and groceries. A large order was sent to Sligo by the commissary of stores and the bishop; but the sloop could not sail for some time on account of the equinoctial storms. The officers made out their entertainment as they could, with great patience and cheerfulness, being very agreeable men, and the general extremely so. The French had made the bishop a present of seven barrels of flour brought from their own country, which had been very good, but was a little heated in the voyage: this, made into what is called slim cakes served tolerably well for bread, as there was neither brewing for some time, nor barm. The sloop did not arrive to our relief till after the general was gone.

“If the people of Killalla were distressed to find accommodation for the multitude of officers that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to their assistance, being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to

the French commissary, refused on the part of his government, to accept of this mark of respect from our ministry.

take the property they had been the means of preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no other respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less of ceremony or excuse, and that his majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing. In consequence, the town very soon grew weary of their guests, and were glad to see them marched off to other quarters. It is but justice to the regiment that has remained at Killalla ever since, the prince of Wales's fencibles, to acknowledge, that they have always behaved themselves with the greatest propriety, under the orders of those two excellent officers, lieutenant-colonel Macartney and major Winstanley. Let it be remembered also, to the honour of our excellent chief governor, that as soon as the country was reduced to quiet, marquis Cornwallis sent two commissioners to Killalla and its vicinity, for the express purpose of ascertaining the damages done by the king's troops, and that, in March following, all authenticated claims on that account were discharged in full by an order on the national bank.

"The court-marshal began the day after the battle, and sat in the house of Mr. Morrison. Their proceedings at first appeared extremely slow, considering the multitudes they had to try, not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killalla, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were general Bellew and Mr. Richard Bourke, who have been already introduced to the acquaintance of the reader. The latter after exerting his best endeavours to prolong the contest with the king's troops, had imitated the craft sometimes observable in the fox; he had slipped in with the crowd of loyalists, and was found, with every appearance of a peaceable subject, sitting in the bishop's lobby, and chatting familiarly with different people as they entered, till he was recognized and taken into custody by Mr. Ormsby. The trial of these two criminals was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in the park behind the castle. Contentment for

drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion.

“ Roger Macguire, our late ambassador to Castlebar, occasioned considerable delay. It was urged in his favour, particularly by dean Thompson, that in their late journey he had often heard him speak to the people in favour of pacific measures, and of lenity to the protestants. On the other hand, general Trench and his officers could not readily forget the insolent behaviour of this young fellow at Castlebar, under which assumed carriage he strove to conceal his apprehension of danger, when he was so grievously (and indeed so inconsiderately) threatened by Mr. Denis Browne and others, on his entering the town, as we have already observed. After a long imprisonment at Killalla, Macguire was transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he received sentence to be transported to Botany bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged: his brothers, more active in treason and mischief than himself, have not yet been taken.

“ Broken weather increased the difficulty of keeping a force together in such a place as Killalla, their tents affording a poor shelter against the rain and storms of this season of the year. General Trench therefore made haste to clear the wild districts of the Laggan and Erris by pushing detachments into each, who were able to do little more than to burn a number of cabins; for the people had too many hiding places to be easily overtaken. Enough however was effected to impress upon the minds of the sufferers a conviction, that joining with the enemies of their country against their lawful sovereign was not a matter of so little moment as they had ignorantly imagined; and probably the memory of what they now endured will not be effaced for years. There are those, however, who think differently; who say these mountaineers will be always ripe for insurrection, and who urge in proof the mischief they have done very lately by robbery and houghing of cattle. Yet surely our common nature will incline us to make some concession to the feelings of men driven, though by their own fault, from their farms and from their dwellings, wretched dwellings to be sure, but to them—(that poor fellow's lesson to the

bishop *is worth remembering!) certainly as valuable as to the grandee his palace. Let a man look round from the summit of one of those mountains that guard our islands against the incursions of the Atlantic, and say what he should think of passing a winter among them without the covering of a hut.

“ The disposal of the powder left at the castle by the French, was one of the first things that occupied the attention of general Trench; especially after the accident, mentioned above, had made every body sensible of the necessity of speedily removing it. He wrote that very day to government, and desired to have the lord lieutenant’s commands respecting it; yet the carriages did not arrive for transporting it to Athlone till the fifth of October, probably from the difficulty of procuring the means of conveyance at that season. The bishop was heartily glad to be rid of this deposit, if that might be so named, which was placed in his hands against his will and consent. The French, as the reader will see by the annexed affidavit of captain Bull, took it into their heads to be angry with the bishop for betraying their powder to the king’s officer; as if he owed *them* allegiance, or was responsible to them for a trust he had not undertaken, and which he would have rejected with abhorrence. All the share he had in saving this powder for his majesty’s use, consisted in suggesting to the French commandant the real and absolute impossibility of throwing it into the sea, in the presence of people who waited eagerly and continually to seize it for their own destructive purposes. The powder, though coarse, was said to be good enough for use: the whole, at one shilling the pound, must have been worth upwards of thirteen hundred pounds sterling.

“ On the 29th, an address was presented to general Trench from the barony of Trawley, thanking him and his army for the good service of Sunday last, to which a polite answer was presently returned by the general. They have appeared in the public prints.

“ The opportunity of an escort to Castlebar, carried away from us this day our worthy friends, the Thompsons, with their

three boys and a girl; a family whose real value we should hardly have known but for our captivity. Mr. Fortescue embraced the same opportunity. And the succeeding day, by the departure of general Trench with the Kerry officers to Castlebar, the town of Killalla was left to the defence of the prince of Wale's fencibles. The detachment that had been sent into Erris on the thirtieth of September, returned the seventh of the following month, after suffering and inflicting a good deal of misery.

"As the storm of war seemed now to have spent its force, the bishop began to try what he could do in order to render his situation at Killalla easy at least, if he could not restore the comfortable posture in which the invasion found him. His greatest inconvenience was, that it was out of his power, as matters stood, to return to the exclusive use of his own house. The guard, which was relieved every day, being stationed in one of the offices at the castle, it became a duty of common politeness to offer a bed to the officer that commanded the guard. The same compliment could hardly be refused to another officer of the regiment, who coming later than the rest to Killalla, could not possibly find a lodging in the town. And these two officers naturally grew to be messmates in the family, the bishop wishing by every means in his power to shew his sense of the protection afforded to the town by his majesty's army. But the labour and weariness of living thus in a manner in public, and for a constancy, may be easily conceived, at least it need not be described to any man that is fond of retirement and study. The messing indeed was laid aside, from the moment the gentlemen were aware of the bishop's inability to bear the annoyance of continual public dinners; but the bedchambers could not be refused; a circumstance which precluded the exercise of hospitality towards the bishop's friends or his clergy, his own family being so numerous. Neither was it by any means clear to the people of Killalla, if they set themselves to repair the damages they had sustained by the war, that they would be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The winter was coming on; a multitude of rebels were scattered through the mountains, likely to be rendered desperate by want; and

perhaps too the French might find means to effect another and a more powerful invasion in the same place where they had landed before.

“These reasons were often urged to the bishop by his friends in the capital, to induce him to remove with his family thither without delay; but he had fixed his resolution to remain where he was for that winter. After the losses he had sustained, his circumstances stood in the way of an expensive journey to Dublin; and if that had not been the case, he found by many trials, that his presence was likely to be useful to his country neighbours, either in assisting to obtain compensation for them, or clearing them from ill-founded charges of disaffection. From the rebels in the mountains he apprehended no danger, as long as the military were left to protect the town; and as to another attempt from the French in the very same quarter, and on the verge of winter, it was an event too far removed from probability to be a reasonable ground for retreating.

“But experience quickly proved, that what is not probable may nevertheless be very true. On the morning of the 27th of October, 1798, three of the same frigates which had brought over Humbert's army in August, in company with a fourth, carrying altogether 2000 land forces, anchored in the bay of Killalla, precisely in the spot where they had made good their first landing. They formed a part of the armament, which, so happily for Ireland and the British empire, was destroyed by the glorious action off Rutland under the auspices of sir John B. Warren. The alarm was taken, the moment these ships appeared; for our late sufferings had taught us what might be expected from vessels of that size. Two officers of the prince of Wales's, captain Bull and lieutenant Leurry, were sent at different times by major Winstanley, to inquire what they were, and if friends, to deliver dispatches which had just come down to him from the capital. A party under the orders of captain Frazer went to take their station behind Kilcummin head, under which the ships were moored, about a league from Killalla, to watch and make reports.

“The officers not returning in the time expected, the panic became universal. Every male inhabitant in the place crowded to Steeple-hill, anxiously looking out to the ships, and forming conjectures. An old sailor, who had often seen the like, pronounced them to be French by their white sails, and by their seeming to stand out of the water more than hours. At length a yeoman horseman appeared on the opposite hill, coming down in full gallop. To the spectators his out-stretched arms told the bad news even before his words: ‘Captain Frazer had bid ‘him say to the major, the ships were certainly French, and ‘the enemy was landing.’ It was discovered, after the fright was passed, that this pestilent fellow had truly reported only half his message: for he was charged to say, ‘the enemy was *not yet* landed.’ But either his wits were unsettled by terror, or he was carried away by the passion men feel for relating marvellous news, let it be ever so horrible.

“In half an hour, the town of Killalla had scarcely an inhabitant left, except the military. The occasion was so instant, that every body was in motion before they had time to reflect how they should go, or whether they ought to go at all: for the weather was cold and stormy, the road to the next town (Ballina) deep mud, especially near Killalla, and the last invasion had left to very few any other means of conveyance but their feet. On foot the bishop set out at the head of his whole household, except two sons who staid to preserve their father’s property as long as they could. Two little daughters by his side waded through the dirt. The other children got upon cars, with their mother and aunt, invalids, that had not been exposed to the air for the last two months; and one of them, Mrs. Stock, liable on any cold to a sudden attack of the gout in her stomach, which had more than once threatened her existence. While they were on the road, gusts of wind, and at last a heavy shower of hail, unfortunately fell on them. All seemed to the bishop to be now over. He must expect to lose the mother of such a family, the companion with whom he had passed twenty years of his life in the sunshine absolutely uninterrupted by one transient cloud. He saw it, almost without a reflection. There is a pause of mind on the apprehended ex-

plosion of some enormous mischief, resembling the stillness that fills the horizon before a thunder clap. At intervals—when thought returned—what he was able to do he did. He raised his eyes, and adored in silence the uplifted hand of the Almighty. That hand, as he had soon the happiness to experience, was lifted, not to destroy, but to save.

“The procession reached Ballina about six in the evening, after a march of two hours, in the course of which they passed the Armagh militia, hastening to Killalla to join the prince of Wales’s. And here the bishop and his family were much indebted to the hospitality of brigade-major Cunningham and his lady, that they did not suffer more by so unseasonable a flight. The house in which the major resided was colonel King’s, in happier times one of the best and most comfortable dwellings in the whole country; but it had suffered so much damage in the rebellion, when it was occupied by Truc, that it was now no easy matter to find a warm seat in it, scarcely a window being without one or more broken panes of glass, and a furious wind pervading the whole house. However, the entire groupe of fugitives had got into bed, when at midnight an express came to the major from Killalla, with intelligence, which that good-natured officer thought his guests would be glad to hear immediately, though they were awaked out of their sleep for it. Major Winstanley had sent word, that the French frigates had suddenly split their cables, and withdrawn for our bay.

“The two officers that were carried off by this squadron to France, Messrs. Bull and Leurry, found their way back again to their regiment near four months afterwards. From their report it appears, that a cutter they had on the watch having apprised the enemy that an English squadron was heaving in sight, for which they were conscious they were not a match, they made off to sea, with so much precipitation, that the largest frigate cut her cable, leaving an anchor behind her, which is thought to be very well worth the weighing up. The squadron was close pursued by two line of battle ships, the *Cæsar* and the *Tremendous* (as report said) even to the distance of ninety leagues, and had for a considerable time very little hope of an escape, though they at last effected it by throwing

every thing they could spare overboard, and thus outsailing ships that were crippled in the late action with the *Hoche* and others.

“ Next day with joyful hearts all the inhabitants of Killalla returned home, where no mischief had happened during their short absence. By the good providence of God the ladies of the bishop’s family escaped the danger to their health, of which they had so much reason to be apprehensive; nor did any of the children take cold, except one little girl that walked, who had a low fever in consequence, which did not quit her for three weeks.

“ After this alarm, there was no resisting the importunity of the bishop’s friends, recalling him to Dublin. To stay longer in a post of so much danger was generally pronounced to be a tempting of Providence. Their arguments would have carried irresistible weight (had a further weight been necessary,) if the bishop or his friends had then been in possession of the intelligence, which they have since received from captain Bull, whose testimony is here laid before the reader.

“ Captain Joseph Bull, of the prince of Wales’s fencible infantry, who was taken prisoner by the fleet in Killalla bay, being sent out with dispatches by order of the commanding officer, maketh oath and saith :

“ That on his being taken on board, and during his voyage to France in *La Concorde* French frigate, he was often told by most of the officers on board, both naval and military, that had they landed their troops when they appeared in the bay of Killalla on the 27th of October, they had the most positive orders to send the bishop of Killalla and his family immediately prisoners to France.

“ That on his (captain Bull’s) asking them the reason of this step, their answer was, that the bishop had betrayed to the King’s troops, and had likewise delivered up the ammunition that was brought in by the French during the time they were in possession of the town of Killalla.

REBELLION IN IRELAND.

“ Captain Bull further says, he took every step that he thought was likely to prove this report entirely groundless, but is sorry to say, without effect. And says, that had they met with any opposition in landing, their determination was, to lay the town in ashes.

“ Sworn before me at Killalla, March 1, 1799.

“ WILLIAM KIRKWOOD.”

Joseph Bull, captain of
the prince of Wales's
fencible regiment.

In the course of this unfortunate and ill-conducted rebellion, among a number of chiefs and inferior insurgents who were tried and executed, “ particular notice and particular compassion are due to two men, who, Irishmen by birth, had been in the military service of France before the invasion, had come to Ireland in the French fleet, and had, as well as the best of the French officers, used the most active exertions to save the lives and properties of loyalists. These were Bartholomew Teeling and Matthew Tone, whose generous humanity, made evident on their trials, and steady fortitude under sentence and execution, command our pity, and for their personal qualities our esteem. They were tried in Dublin barrack, and executed—the former on the twenty-fourth of September, the latter a few days after.

“ The little army of Humbert had been intended only to be a vanguard of a much more formidable force, which was in a short time to follow. Providentially for the safety of the British empire, the French administrators were as tardy in seconding the operations of Humbert, as they had been in seconding those of the southern rebels of Ireland. The want of money is assigned as the cause of delay in the equipment of the second fleet, and in the interim, before its appearance on the Irish coast, a brig from France arrived at the little island of Rutland, near the north-west coast of Donegal, on the sixteenth of Sep-

tember, and landed its crew; among whom was the celebrated James Napper Tandy, now bearing the title of general of brigade in the French service. Informed of the surrender of Humbert's troops, and unable to excite an insurrection by their manifestoes in that quarter, they re-embarked, and abandoned the shores of Ireland. Tandy was afterwards arrested at Hamburg by some British agents. In this action the dignity of a neutral state was contemptuously violated, and the influence of the emperor of Russia was solicited and obtained to intimidate the Hamburgers into an acquiescence in this violation, which exposed them at the same time to the resentment of the French government. So mighty a fuss about such an object, such a mountain in labour, confirmed many in an opinion of a puerile weakness in the British ministers. Tandy was tried at Lifford, at the spring assizes for 1801, and pleading guilty, received his majesty's pardon on condition of emigration; in consequence of which he emigrated to France, where he died.

“ On board one of the French ships, captured by admiral Warren, was found Theobald Wolfe Tone, a celebrated lawyer, and brother to Matthew Tone, already mentioned, whose activity and talents had contributed to give life to a formidable conspiracy, which received a deadly wound by the miscarriage of the French armament, and which can hardly be said to have survived his fate. Tried by a court-martial in the capital, he rested his defence on his being a denizen of France, an officer in the service of that country, and pretended not to deny the charge against him, nor even to excuse his political conduct. Found guilty, he requested the indulgence of being shot as a soldier, instead of being ignominiously hanged as a felon; and, on the refusal of this request, cut his own throat in the prison. The operation being incompletely performed, hopes were entertained of his recovery; and on the next morning John Philpot Curran, Esq. the famous barrister, made a motion in the court of king's bench for a writ of habeas corpus in his favour, upon the ground that “ courts-martial have no jurisdiction over subjects not in military service while the court of king's bench is sitting.” After a full discussion of the subject,

the plea was admitted; but from the condition of Tone, his removal from prison, according to the writ, was deemed unsafe, and he shortly after died from the self-inflicted wound.

“With the reduction of the ravaging bands in the mountains of Wicklow, under Holt and Hacket, the last professed champions in arms of the united conspiracy, and with the death of Tone, its chief original projector, ended a rebellion, of which the deep and artful scheme demonstrated the ability, but the immediate consequences, the ignorance of its authors with respect to the instruments which they were obliged to employ.

“The evil consequences of this rebellion were, notwithstanding the small extent and duration of armed opposition to government, too many to be distinctly particularized. To the general mass of evils, of some of which a faint idea may be formed from the foregoing pages, a corruption of morals in the disturbed parts made a lamentable addition. To dwell on the sad propensity to extortion, cheating, pilfering, and robbing, acquired or encouraged by a temporary dissolution of civil government; on the practice of perjury and bribery in the accusation and defence of real or supposed criminals; and of perjury in claims of losses, even by persons who might well be supposed superior to such meanness, laying aside religious considerations, would be attended with more pain than utility. Even dissipation, which might reasonably be expected to be checked by the calamities attendant on this cruel commotion, seemed to revive with augmented force on the subsiding of the insurrection. Collected in towns, in the following winter, many of the lower sort of loyalists spent the days in drunkenness, and their superiors the nights in late suppers and riotous conviviality. One good consequence, however, of their assembling in towns was the promotion of matrimony. Young people of the two sexes being brought together, who might otherwise have remained unacquainted with one another, an extraordinary number of marriages took place, as if Providence intended thus to repair the waste of civil war.”

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX.

No. L—p. 129.

*Constitution of the Society of United Irishmen of the city of
Dublin, as first agreed upon.*

THE society is constituted for the purpose of forwarding a brotherhood of affection, an identity of interests, a communion of rights, and an union of power, among Irishmen of all religious persuasions, and thereby obtaining an impartial and adequate representation of the nation in parliament.

The members of this society are either ordinary or honorary.

Such persons only are eligible as honorary members, who have distinguished themselves by promoting the liberties of mankind, and are not inhabitants of Ireland.

Every candidate for admission into the society, whether as an ordinary or honorary member, shall be proposed by two ordinary members, who shall sign a certificate of his being, from their knowledge of him, a fit person to be admitted, that he

has seen the test, and is willing to take it. This certificate, delivered to the secretary, shall be read from the chair, at the ensuing meeting of the society; and on the next subsequent night of meeting the society shall proceed to the election. The names and additions of the candidates, with the names of those by whom he has been proposed, shall be inserted in the summons for the night of election. The election shall be conducted by ballot, and if one-fifth of the number of beans be black, the candidate stands rejected. The election, with respect to an ordinary member, shall be void, if he does not attend within four meetings afterwards, unless he can plead some reasonable excuse for his absence.

Every person elected a member of the society, whether honorary or ordinary, shall, previous to his admission, take and subscribe the following test:—*See p. 138.*

A member of another society of United Irishmen being introduced to the president by a member of this society, shall, upon producing a certificate signed by the secretary, and sealed with the seal of the society to which he belongs, and taking the before-mentioned test, be thereupon admitted to attend the sittings of this society.

The officers of the society shall consist of a president, treasurer, and secretary, who shall be severally elected three months, *videlicet*, on every first night of meeting in the months of November, February, May, and August; the election to be determined by each member present writing on a piece of paper the names of the object of his choice, and putting it into a box. The majority of votes shall decide; if the votes are equal, the president shall have a casting voice. No person shall be capable of being re-elected to any office for the

quarter next succeeding the determination of his office. In case of an occasional vacancy in any office by death or otherwise, the society shall, on the next night of meeting, elect a person to the same for the remainder of the quarter.

The society shall meet on every second Friday night, or oftener if necessary. The chair shall be taken at eight o'clock, from twenty-ninth September to twenty-fifth March; and at nine o'clock, from twenty-fifth March to twenty-ninth September. Fifteen members shall form a quorum; no new business shall be introduced after ten o'clock.

Every respect and deference shall be paid to the president; his chair shall be raised three steps above the seats of the members; the treasurer and secretary shall have seats under him, two steps above the seats of the members. On his rising from his chair, and taking off his hat, there must be silence, and the members be seated; he shall be judge of order and propriety, be empowered to direct an apology, and to fine refractory members in any sum not exceeding one crown; if the member refuse to pay the fine, or make the apology, he is thereupon expelled from the society.

There shall be a committee of constitution, of finance, of correspondence, and of accommodation. The committee of constitution shall consist of nine members, that of finance of seven members, that of correspondence of five members: each committee shall, independent of occasional reports, make general reports on every quarterly meeting. The treasurer shall be under the direction of the committee of finance, and the secretary under the direction of the committee of correspondence; the election for committees shall be on every quarterly meeting, and decided by the majority of votes.

In order to defray the necessary expences, and establish a fund for the use of the society, each ordinary member shall on his election pay to the treasurer, by those who proposed him, one guinea admission fee; and also one guinea annually, by half-yearly payments, on every first night of meeting in November and May; the first payment thereof to be on the first night of meeting in November, 1792. On every quarterly meeting following, the names of the defaulters, as they appear in the treasury-book, shall be read from the chair. If any member, after the second reading, neglect to pay his subscription, he shall be excluded the society, unless he can shew some reasonable excuse for his default.

The secretary shall be furnished with the following seal, *videlicet*, a harp; at the top, "*I am now strung;*" at the bottom, "*I will be heard;*" and on the exergue, "*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.*"

No motion for an alteration of, or addition to, the constitution shall be made but at the quarterly meetings, and notice of such motion shall be given fourteen days previous to those meetings. If upon such motion the society shall see ground for the proposed alteration or addition, the same shall be referred to the proper committee, with instructions to report on the next night of meeting their opinion thereupon; and upon such report the question shall be decided by the society.

No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PUBLICATIONS OF THE UNITED
IRISHMEN.

Friday, 30th of December, 1791.

*Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.—The Hon. Simon Butler
in the chair.*

Resolved unanimously,

That the following circular letter, reported by our committee of correspondence, be adopted and printed :

This letter is addressed to you from the corresponding committee of the Society of United Irishmen of Dublin.

We annex the declaration of political principles which we have subscribed, and the test which we have taken, as a social and sacred compact to bind us more closely together.

The object of this institution is to make an united society of the Irish nation; to make all Irishmen citizens; all citizens, Irishmen: nothing appearing to us more natural at all times, and at this crisis of Europe more seasonable, than that those who have common interests, and common enemies, who suffer common wrongs, and lay claim to common right, should know each other, and should act together. In our opinion, ignorance has been the demon of discord, which has so long deprived Irishmen, not only of the blessings of well-regulated government, but even the common benefits of civil society. Peace in this island has hitherto been a peace on the principles and with

the consequences of civil war. For a century past there has indeed been tranquility, but to most of our dear countrymen it has been the tranquility of a dungeon; and if the land has lately prospered, it has been owing to the goodness of Providence, and the strong efforts of human nature, resisting and overcoming the malignant influence of a miserable administration.

To resist this influence, which rules by discord and embroils by system, it is vain to act as individuals or as parties; it becomes necessary by an union of minds, and a knowledge of each other, to will and act as a nation. To know each other is to know ourselves; the weakness of one and the strength of many. Union, therefore, is power; it is wisdom; it must prove liberty.

Our design, therefore, in forming this society, is to give an example, which, when well followed, must collect the public will, and consecrate the public power into one solid mass, the effect of which, once put in motion, must be rapid, momentous, and consequential.

In thus associating, we have thought little about our ancestors, much of our posterity. Are we for ever to walk like beasts of prey, over fields which these ancestors stained with blood? In looking back, we see nothing on the one part but savage force succeeded by savage policy; on the other, an unfortunate nation, "scattered and peeled, meted out and trodden down!" We see a mutual intolerance, and a common carnage of the first moral emotions of the heart, which lead us to esteem and place confidence in our fellow-creatures. We see this, and are silent: but we gladly look forward to brighter prospects, to a people united in the fellowship of freedom, to a parliament the express

image of the people, to a prosperity established on civil, political, and religious liberty, to a peace, not the gloomy and precarious stillness of men brooding over their wrongs, but that stable tranquility which rests on the rights of human nature, and leans on the arms by which these rights are to be maintained.

Our principal rule of conduct has been to attend to those things in which we agree, to exclude from our thoughts those in which we differ. We agree in knowing what are our rights, and in daring to assert them : If the rights of men be duties to God, we are in this respect of one religion. Our creed of civil faith is the same ; we agree in thinking that there is not an individual among our millions, whose happiness can be established on any foundation so rational and so solid, as on the happiness of the whole community. We agree, therefore, in the necessity of giving political value and station to the great majority of the people ; and we think that whoever desires an amended constitution, without including the grand body of the people, must on his own principles be convicted of political persecution, and political monopoly. If the present electors be themselves a morbid part of our constitution, where are we to recur for redress but to the whole community ? “ A more “ unjust and absurd constitution cannot be devised, than that “ which condemns the natives of a country to perpetual servitude, under the arbitrary dominion of strangers and “ slaves.”

We agree in thinking, that the first and most indispensable condition of the laws in a free state, is the assent of those whose obedience they require, and for whose benefit only they are designed. Without, therefore, an impartial and adequate representation of the community ; we agree in declaring, we can

have no constitution, no country, no Ireland. Without this, our late revolution we declare to be fallacious and ideal; a thing much talked of, but neither felt or seen. The act of Irish sovereignty has been merely tossed out of the English houses into the cabinet of the minister; and nothing remains to the people, who of right are every thing, but a servile majesty and a ragged independence.

We call earnestly on every great and good man, who at the late æra spoke or acted for his country, to consider less of what was done than of what there remains to do. We call upon their senatorial wisdom to consider the monstrous and immeasurable distance which separates, in this island, the ranks of social life, makes labour ineffectual, taxation unproductive, and divides the nation into petty despotism and public misery. We call upon their tutelar genius, to remember, that government is instituted to remedy, not to render more grievous, the natural inequality of mankind, and that unless the rights of the whole community be asserted, anarchy (we cannot call it government) must continue to prevail, when the strong tyrannize, the rich oppress, and the mass are brayed in a mortar. We call upon them, therefore, to build their arguments and their action on the broad platform of general good.

Let not the rights of nature be enjoyed merely by connivance, and the rights of conscience merely by toleration. If you raise up a prone people, let it not be merely to their knees: Let the nation stand. Then will it cast away the bad habit of servitude, which has brought with it indolence, ignorance, an extinction of our faculties, an abandonment of our very nature. Then will every right obtained, every franchise exercised, prove a seed of sobriety, industry, and regard to character, and the

manners of the people will be formed on the model of their free constitution.

This rapid exposition of our principles, our object, and our rule of conduct, must naturally suggest the wish of multiplying similar societies, and the propriety of addressing such a desire to you. Is it necessary for us to request, that you will hold out your hand, and open your heart to your countryman, townsman, neighbour? Can you form a hope for political redemption, and by political penalties, or civil excommunications, withhold the rights of nature from your brother? We beseech you to rally all the friends of liberty round a society of this kind as a centre. Draw together your best and bravest thoughts, your best and bravest men. You will experience, as we have done, that these points of union will quickly attract number, while the assemblage of such societies, acting in concert, moving as one body, with one impulse and one direction, will, in no long time, become not parts of the nation, but the nation itself; speaking with its voice, expressing its will, resistless in its power. We again entreat you to look around for men fit to form those stable supports on which Ireland may rest the lever of liberty. If there be but ten, take those ten. If there be but two, take those two, and trust with confidence to the sincerity of your intention, the justice of your cause, and the support of your country.

Two objects interest the nation, a plan of representation, and the means of accomplishing it. These societies will be a most powerful means; but a popular plan would itself be a means for its own accomplishment. We have, therefore, to request, that you will favour us with your ideas respecting the plan which appears to you most eligible and practicable, on the present more enlarged and liberal principles which actuate the people;

at the same time giving your sentiments upon our national coalition, on the means of promoting it, and on the political state and disposition of the county or town where you reside. We know what resistance will be made to your patriotic efforts by those who triumph in the disunion and degradation of their country. The greater the necessity for reform, the greater probably will be the resistance. We know that there is much spirit that requires being brought into mass, as well as much massy body that must be refined into spirit. We have enemies, and no enemy is contemptible; we do not despise the enemies of the union, the liberty and the peace of Ireland, but we are not of a nature, nor have we encouraged the habit of fearing any man, or any body of men, in an honest and honourable cause. In great undertakings, like the present, we declare that we have found it always more difficult to attempt, than to accomplish. The people of Ireland must perform all that they wish, if they attempt all that they can.

Signed by order,

JAMES NAPPER TANDY, sec.

No. III.

THE CATECHISM OF THE UNITED IRISHMEN,

Published and circulated since the rebellion was put down, for the purpose of keeping the flame of it alive.

I BELIEVE in the IRISH UNION, in the supreme majesty of the people, in the equality of man, in the lawfulness of insurrection, and of resistance to oppression. I believe in a revolu-

tion founded on the rights of man, in the natural and imprescriptible right of *all* the Irish citizens to all the land. I believe the soil, or any part of it, cannot be transferred without the consent of the people, or their representatives, convened and authorised, by the votes of every man having arrived at the age of twenty-one years. I believe the land, or any of it, cannot become the property of any man, but by purchase, or as rewards for forwarding and preserving the public liberty. I believe our present connexion with England must be speedily dissolved. I believe that old age, pregnant women, and labour should be honoured. I believe that TREASON is the crime of betraying the people. I believe religious distinctions are only protected by tyrants. I believe applying the lands of the church to relieve old age, to give education and protection to infancy, will be more acceptable to an united people, than maintaining lazy hypocrites and ravenous tythe gatherers.

In this faith I mean to live, or bravely die.

Question. What are you?

Answer. An Irishman.

Q. As an Irishman, what do you hope for?

A. The emancipation of my country, and equality of rights, a fair division of the land, an abolition of religious establishments, and a representative government.

Q. What benefit do you propose to your country, by what you call emancipation?

A. Deliverance from the odious influence of England, and that domestic tyranny it generated, which is calculated to corrupt our morals, impoverish our people, and retard our industry.

Q. How do you conceive this?

A. By the innumerable injuries we experience from England—she shuts us out from any mercantile connexion with the world, while she tells us we are an independent people; she fosters establishments in our island, contriving to make her agents in the land her friends and our oppressors.

Q. How are Irish morals injured by England?

A. By monopolizing the trade of the world, and confining us to deal only with her.

Q. Does that effect your morals?

A. Yes, her contrivance leaves us at her mercy: she sells to us at her own prices, she deprives us of the choice of other markets, either to buy or sell; by such means she has the command of all our produce; we buy dear and sell cheap; consequently we are poor, and poverty begets crimes, as Job says, "Lord, make me not poor, lest I should steal."

Q. What other reasons have you against English connections, and what other proofs have you of influence on your morals?

A. England has organized a kind of legislators here, devoted to her interests, and holding their influence and power at her will.

Q. Explain yourself?

A. Those law-makers are land-holders, all of one trade, which in itself is criminal; as men making laws, being of one profession, will always be unanimous in promoting the welfare of a particular object. A legislative assembly of tanners would make leather dear; of weavers, would increase the price of cloth; of schoolmasters, would monopolize instruction. Our law-makers contrive to make spirituous liquors in more general use than bread, they are constantly canting on the drunkenness of the people, and take no pains to discourage distillation, as it raises the value of their lands, under the pretext of promoting the revenue. They encourage grazing and the exportation of cattle; they sell the liquor and accuse us of drunkenness; they export our raw materials; they say we are idlers, and mock our poverty; they import tobacco for our use, and export our beef and butter. Thus the necessities of life are put out of our reach, to promote their own ends, and a poisonous plant given us for the same purposes.

Q. What advantage can our poverty be to our law-makers?

A. By being poor we must be on the alert, to procure the necessities of life, which makes true the old maxim, they "keep us poor and busy." Our time will be spent studying to avoid want, instead of inquiring the cause of it; for enquiry is dangerous to tyranny.

Q. What benefit, in a general sense, would emancipation be?

A. Ireland, delivered from England, would give us immense resources, innumerable means of employing our people, would

extend our trade and agriculture, we could have the sugars of the West-Indies, seventy per cent. cheaper from the Danes, the Dutch, or the French, than we can get them from the retail market of England. The teas and produce of the Indies, we could also have, in the same advantageous manner, from the same nations, or from the Americans, or by a direct importation. Other branches of trade and other resources of riches and employments would unfold themselves to independent Ireland, now impossible to enumerate.

Q. What is meant by equality?

A. Men being born equal, is evident to every understanding. If the Creator intended any superior rank among men, it is that of superior abilities or superior virtue; if he intended any other nobility than the noble of nature, we should see noblemen, not the same impotent, ignorant, vicious, and untaught creatures, so common among the artificial orders. We should have them born without wanting any of those acquirements that appear so necessary to every rank, which is the result of tedious instruction, and persevering industry, their childhood would be distinguished by a knowledge of every talent that is known or valued; they would come into the world finished statesmen, orators, mathematicians, generals, dancing-masters, hair-dressers, taylors, &c. nay, they would come from the womb covered with embroidery, ribbons, stars, and coronets.

Q. Not appearing in infancy to have any visible or mental acquirements, more than other mortals, you think is an argument to defend the opinions of those who are advocates for equality?

A. Undoubtedly. Many persons in Ireland may remember men who are ranked as nobility, to be raised by accidental circumstances from the loins of footmen, low tradesmen, and infamous gamblers; the whole of them may be said, within the last century, to be the descendants of English ruffians, adventurers, whose crimes or obscurity denied them a livelihood in their own country, but were the cruel agents of foreign force or foreign seduction. The origin of nobles in every country is the same; but time and revolutions have concealed their hateful origin.

Q. What inconvenience do Irishmen find by the privileged orders?

A. We have manifold complaints against the unnatural institution: they are an association in alliance with the common enemy. They consider the people as an inferior and degraded mass, only made for their amusement or convenience, to dig, plow, or enlist, whenever the tyrant's amusement or ambition is the mode. They influence the whole race of landholders, who are their creatures or admirers, whose conduct, honour and religion, is regulated by an uniform compliance, that will promise a hope of arriving at the rank and emoluments that are at the disposal of the plunderers of the people.

Q. Do you mean an equality of property as a part of your system?

A. By no means; 'tis too absurd to imagine: I mean only an equality of rights, that is, that every man is eligible to public employment, whose honesty and abilities are approved of by his countrymen; that no man should be deprived of his liberty or property by any others, of supposed superiority of

rank; that every man, however rich, however connected, should be as amenable to the laws and as subject to punishment as the meanest; that labour, honesty, and public virtue should be protected, and should be the tests of superiority.

Q. What good could a fair division of the land be to Ireland?

A. As the land and its produce was intended for the use of man, it is unfair for fifty or an hundred men to possess what is for the subsistence of near five millions: it exposes the great body of the people to every want and every misery. It is a blasphemy to say the present land-holders in Ireland are to be the "lords of the soil." The Almighty intended all mankind to lord the soil. As man cannot, in the present improved manners of life, do without shoes, clothes, or food, which are produced from the grass and corn, surely it is unfair that one or one hundred should hold in their hands those necessities which none ought to want; it is not possible that God can be pleased to see a whole nation depending on the caprice and pride of a small faction, who can deny the common property in the land to his people, or at least tell them, how much they shall eat, and what kind; and how much they shall wear, and what kind. As we every day experience from the hands of these cruel usurpers, who have formed themselves into a corporation of law-makers, and are constantly exporting our provisions, or curtailing its growth, on the horrid policy of preserving subordination, by degrading our characters, and forcing on us every servile occupation to earn a scanty livelihood in a country capable of the greatest plenty.

Q. How would you alter the property in land, and preserve the country from anarchy?

A. By dividing the ancient estates among the descendant of those Irish families, who were pillaged by English invaders, giving to every person without exception, a competent share to enable him or her to get a comfortable livelihood; this provision not to extend to any person who impeded the deliverance of the country by cowardice or treachery. The remainder to be sold by public cant, and the money applied to paying off the debts contracted by the former confederacy, and for rewarding the citizens who fought for their country, and providing for their wives and mothers, and giving education to their children and infant relations.

Q. What is your view by wishing to abolish religious establishments?

A. To eradicate every reason of jealousy and distrust, to ease the nation of a useless and weighty body, formed of hypocrites and cheats.

Q. How would this provide against jealousy and distrust?

A. As every man has a right to make use of any form of worship he thinks most acceptable to his Creator, it is unfair to tax him for the maintenance of an order he does not acknowledge, and cannot approve of. It is unjust to take his property, his corn, his cattle, his hay and potatoes, to maintain a man he can do without, or perhaps abhors. The system of tythes forces a man's property from his family, to apply it to the use of a disorderly idler, or useless fool, protected by power, often uniting every vice that disfigures society, under the specious cloke of religion. By leaving every minister of religion on the bounty of his hearers, you generally find the people choose men of education and morals, as objects of their esteem. If there

were no other advantages than that of adding the church lands to the national stock, and relieving the people from tythes, it would be of sufficient utility to abolish church establishments.

Q. Let me hear your reasons for a representative government?

A. By giving a power of voting to every man who has not forfeited his right by any crime, you create such an immense number of electors, that no candidate can ever purchase their suffrage.

Q. Would that be sufficient to promote your plan?

A. No : I mention it as the first towards true representation : besides the justice of universal suffrage, it has that beauty which must make every man its advocate.

Q. How would the poor see the advantage of it?

A. As every man, in a free state, votes to secure his liberty and property : the poor man has but his labour, yet it is to him a property : he should have representatives, who would be careful of the value of labour, and watch, with a vigilant eye, the different and combining circumstances occurring in legislative assemblies, lest the labour or employments of the artisan or husbandman should be made uncertain or unfashionable.

Q. Should there be any qualification for a representative?

A. None but honesty and abilities ; as every man should be eligible.

Q. Might not a representative betray the trust reposed in him, and be an accomplice in the destruction of his country ?

A. By limiting the existence of representative assemblies, to the period of one or two years, the people have a frequent check on the conduct of their representatives, and should any displease by ignorant or treacherous conduct, he could be replaced ; by that means corruption or tyranny could be prevented, as near as human wisdom can devise.

Q. Were we to regain our freedom, would not the power of England be dangerous to our existence as a free state ?

A. By no means. As power principally consists in population, her population cannot be so formidable as to hazard our safety.

Q. Why, she has a more numerous people ?

A. She has, in the island of Great Britain, about seven millions, we have near five, she could not send her seven millions on an invasion ; though we could fight our whole population against the redundancy of hers, as we could be on the defensive.

Q. But she has a navy ?

A. Her navy could make little impression on Ireland ; a navy may cover a debarkation of troops, and support them while

within the reach of the ships guns ; but after that, any number of troops, however well appointed, though all the navies of Europe were employed in conveying them, would be a very insufficient force to conquer the united people of Ireland, fighting for a valuable country, and a more valuable independence.

Q. Would not the navy of England destroy our trade ?

A. We have no trade, nor have we foreign possessions, so we have nothing to apprehend on that account.

Q. Would not blocking up our ports be some inconvenience ?

A. None ; as our miserable and confined commerce is calculated rather to injure the poor, the suppressing of it would be beneficial in a state of hostility ; our exports are necessaries of life, taken from them who labour ; and our imports luxuries to pamper the idle. Were the corn, cattle, and butter, kept at home, and wines, teas, sugar and tobacco, kept away, we need not be much alarmed at the naval consequence of England.

Q. How shall we arrive at the blessings so certain from independence ?

A. By a union of *all* the people.

Q. Do you mean the privileged orders in this union ?

A. No : were we to wait their concurrence, our delivery would be as distant as the general death of nature.

Q. Who do you mean should compose this favourite object?

A. Every man that is oppressed, every man that labours, every honest man of every religion, every man who loves, and whose love of his country raises the human mind above other trifling distinctions, and loses the petty idea of sects, in the name of Irishman.

No. IV.—p. 154.

Names of the Members of the Court-martial on Sir Edward Crosbie.

Major Denis, of the 9th dragoons, president.

Captain Martin of the 9th dragoons.

Captain Sherston, 32d regiment.

Captain Buthin, unattached.

Lieutenant Loftus, 9th dragoons.

Lieutenant Roe, Armagh regiment.

Lieutenant Best, half pay.

Lieutenant Higgins, 9th dragoons.

Lieutenant Ogle, Armagh regiment.

Lieutenant Magrath, North Cork regiment.

*Lieutenant Bagwell, 9th dragoons.

Ensign Ellis, Armagh regiment.

Cornet Fleming, 9th dragoons.

“The insults offered to her,” (lady Crosbie, widow of sir Edward) “after his death, by the military, became now so

alarming, that these, together with a midnight visit from colonel Mahon, of the 9th dragoons, and a party of dragoons, on a frivolous pretence, after what had befallen her lamented husband, excited in her no unreasonable apprehensions for her own security; and she was obliged at length literally to fly for refuge to England.”—*See the pamphlet, p. 9.*

An exact copy of a letter from Major Denis, in answer to an application for the copy of the minutes of Sir Edward's trial.

Mount-Mellick, Feb. 1, 1800.

“Madam—I have been honoured with your letter, representing a conversation I had with a lady at Harrowgate, respecting a transaction which occurred during the late rebellion. It concerns me much to renew a subject, which I hoped was buried in oblivion. But as the lady has thought proper to mention the business, and which I thought I was only speaking in confidence, I must beg leave to say, that on her representing to me, that reflection had been cast on the proceedings of the court-martial, of which I was a member, in vindication I declared my sentiments, observing I could by the proceedings prove the assertion I made. The lady will, I am sure, do me justice to recollect what my sentiments were:—that I should be extremely sorry to bring forward any thing to hurt the feelings of any of the family, part of whom I had been acquainted with a long time, and had the highest respect for. No stranger has seen from me, since the unfortunate time I allude to, any copy. I understand applications have already been made to my superior officers for such a copy: I think myself unwarrantable in doing so at present. Any thing in my power, consistent with what I

conceive propriety, I would do to serve lady Crosbie, or any of the family ; but in the presepnt case, I am sure she will excuse me.

“ I am, madam, yours, &c. &c.

HUM. DENIS.

*County of the city } George Lucas, of Browne's-hill, in the
of Dublin, to wit. }* county of Carlow, farmer, late shepherd of
sir Edward William Crosbie, of View-mount, in the said county,
maketh oath, that from the nature of this the deponent's employment,
he was constantly about the house and demesne of the said sir Edward
William Crosbie, at View-mount, aforesaid, and from thence, and from
his observations of the conduct of the said sir Edward William Crosbie,
both before and after the attack of the rebels on the town of Carlow,
this deponent was enabled to give very material evidence in favour of
the said sir Edward William Crosbie upon his trial, for which purpose
this deponent was directed to attend at the place of trial by lady Crosbie,
the wife of the said sir Edward William Crosbie. And this deponent saith,
he has reason to believe that, if the said sir Edward William Crosbie
had left his house at View-mount, on the morning of the day of the
attack of Carlow by the rebels, and had gone, or attempted to go, into
the town of Carlow, for the purpose of giving any information, or at all,
the family and property of the said sir Edward William would have
been destroyed by the rebels, who were in full force about the said
town of Carlow. This deponent saith, that he accordingly attended on
the 2d and 4th days of June, at the barrack gate in the town of Carlow,
to give evidence upon the said trial; and saith, that on the 4th day of
June this deponent was called upon to go into the court, and to give
evidence for the said sir Edward William, by Robert Kirwan, gaoler of
Carlow, who

was the person (as this deponent heard and believes) instructed by the said sir Edward William to call for his witnesses; and this deponent thereupon went forward, and attempted to go into the barrack-yard, for the purpose of giving his evidence before the said court, upon the trial of the said sir Edward William Crosbie, which was then going on. And this deponent saith, that upon his attempting to go forward, for that purpose, the sentinel then on guard presented his bayonet against this deponent, and refused him entrance, and said deponent should not go in, though he was informed, upon this deponent being so called, that he attended as a witness upon the said trial. And this deponent saith, that Mary Hutchinson, and other material witnesses, who attended to give evidence upon the said trial, in favour of the said sir Edward William Crosbie, were refused admittance in the like manner. And this deponent saith, that he is, and always was, a protestant of the church of Ireland, as by law established, and saith, he never was concerned in the said rebellion, or in any act in favour thereof; and was always a true and faithful subject to the present established government. And this deponent further saith, that this affidavit is made at the special instance and request of the said lady Crosbie.

GEORGE LUCAS.

Sworn before me, Dec. 25, 1800.

JOHN CARLETON.

The following is an extract of a letter to Mrs. Boissier, from the Rev. Robert Robinson; dated Tullow, January 30, 1799.

“ Your letter found me in a large and gay company, and the revulsion it occasioned had such an effect on me, as I shall not attempt to describe, but which no friend of sir Edward Crosbie need be ashamed to avow; and that I was such is my boast and my pride, notwithstanding the rash and fatal sentence which deprived him of life. No difference of opinion could ever loosen the bonds of amity between him and me, or cool our affection; and as to party spirit, although I profess myself as loyal a subject as any in his majesty’s dominions, and sincerely abhor the rebellion, which has of late distracted this unhappy country, yet I should be sorry to consider myself as a partizan. I knew sir Edward’s political sentiments well, and do solemnly declare, that he never, to my recollection, uttered a word of treasonable tendency; and with me he was ever unreserved. Would to God he had been less so to others! I will tell you the two grand points on which he was most warm. One was, that he thought this kingdom governed by England rather as a colony than a federal state. The other was, that his noble heart spurned at the hauteur and oppression of the great and rich toward the poor and lowly. On these topics he always expressed himself with ardour, and often in the presence of those who felt themselves *galled*; and this attached to him the character of disaffected and republican. But I will give you a strong proof that he was not so: the morning that he fought young Burton (of which no doubt you heard) I was saying to him, that I much feared the duel would be imputed to politics, as I knew he had the name of being a republican. His reply was,

"If such be the character they give me, it is most undeserved; and I call upon you as my friend, if I fall, to clear my memory from so unfounded a charge, as I am a steady friend to the constitution of king, lords, and commons, with a parliamentary reform, striking off the rotten boroughs." These sentiments, uttered on such an occasion, by a man whom, in a long course of most intimate acquaintance, I never knew guilty of the minutest falsehood, must be admitted as the genuine effusions of his heart; and that he did so express himself to me, I declare on the word of a Christian clergyman. Was he then a republican? No. His own declaration a little before he suffered, and which I read in his own hand writing, clears him from the imputation of being a member of any treasonable society."

No. V.—p. 175.

BY ORDER OF THE REBEL COUNCIL OF THE COUNTY OF
WEXFORD.

*Oaths to be taken by all the united army, in the most public and
solemn manner.*

OATH OF A PRIVATE.

I, A. B. do solemnly and sincerely swear, and take God and his only son our Lord Jesus Christ to witness, that I will at all times be obedient to the commands of my officers; that I am ready to lay down my life, for the good of my country; that I have an aversion to plunder, and to the spilling of innocent blood; that I will fight courageously in the field, and shew mercy where it can be given: that I will avoid drunkenness, tending to disorder and ruin; that I will endeavour to make as

many friends, and as few enemies as possible ; that above all, I detest a coward, and that I will look upon him as an enemy who will stand back in the time of battle.

So help me God.

OATH OF AN OFFICER.

In the awful presence of God, who knows the heart and thoughts of all men, and calling my country to witness, I, A. B. officer in, &c. do solemnly swear, that I do not consider my life my own, when my country demands it : that I consider the present moment calls for a proof of the sincerity of that sentiment, and I am ready and desirous to stand the test ; and do aver, that I am determined to die, or lead to victory ; and that all my actions shall be directed to the prosperity of the common cause, uninfluenced by any inferior motive : and I further declare my utter aversion to all alarmists, union-breakers, and a coward, and my respect and obedience to the commands of superior officers.

So help me God.

Done at the council chamber,
Wexford, June the 14th, 1798.

By order of the council,

B. B. HARVEY, *president,*
NICHOLAS GRAY, *secretary.*

By the virtuous voice of the people, we whose names are here under written, do appoint our trusty and well-beloved bro-

ther, William Fielding Costello, to command our artillery, and commissary of our stores; and we trust this will be noticed by all whom it may concern. Given under our hands at camp at Limerick-hill, this thirteenth day of June, 1798.

EDWARD KYAN,

JOHN HAY.

[A copy.]

ERIN GO BRAGH!

Proclamation of the people of the county of Wexford.

WHEREAS it stands manifestly notorious, that James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, late magistrates of this county, have committed the most horrid acts of cruelty, violence, and oppression, against our peaceable and well-affected countrymen:

Now we, the people, associated and united for the purpose of procuring our just rights, and being determined to protect the persons and properties of those of all religious persuasions who have not oppressed us, and are willing, with heart and hand, to join our glorious cause, as well as to shew our marked disapprobation and horror of the crimes of the above delinquents, do call on our countrymen at large, to use every exertion in their power to apprehend the bodies of the aforesaid James Boyd, Hawtrey White, Hunter Gowan, and Archibald Hamilton Jacob, and to secure and convey them to the gaol of

Wexford, to be brought before the tribunal of the people. Done at Wexford, this ninth day of June, 1798.

God save the People.

ERIN GO BRAGH!

To all Irishmen and soldiers, who wish to join their brethren in arms, assembled for the defence of their country, their rights and liberties, these few lines are addressed.

WE, the honest patriots of our country, do most earnestly intreat and invite you to join your natural Irish standard. This is the time for Irishmen to shew their zeal for their country's good, the good of their posterity, and the natural rights and liberties of Ireland. Repair then to the camps of liberty, where you will be generously received, and amply rewarded. We know your hearts are with us; and all you want is an opportunity to desert those tyrants who wish to keep you as the support of their oppressive and hellish schemes, to enslave our country. Done at Wexford by the unanimous voice of the people, fourteenth June, 1798.

God save the People.

No. VI.—p. 191.

MASSACRE AT SCULLABOGUE.

*County of the city of } THE information of William Fleming,
Dublin to wit. } of Taghmon, in the county of Wexford,*
yeoman, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath, and saith, That he, this informant, was a yeoman in the Taghmon cavalry, was taken prisoner by the rebels at Kilburn, near Taghmon, aforesaid, on Thursday, the thirty-first day of May last, by a man of the name of Brien, who was a captain of said rebels; and that said Brien asked informant, whether he would be baptized? on which informant replied, that he was baptized before, and that he did not think a second baptism necessary. Informant saith, that said Brien asked him, whether he knew that this was a religious war? to which informant replied, he did not; on which said Brien told informant that no person would be suffered to live but he that was a true Roman Catholic. Informant saith, that said Brien, thereon, cocked his gun, presented it at informant's breast, and declared he would shoot informant, as he did another orange rascal at the camp of Taghmon aforesaid: but that another of said rebels told said Brien, that he had no right or authority to shoot him, unless it was done at the camp. That informant was conducted to the said camp, in the midst of a great crowd of rebels, who cried out aloud, Which is the orange rascal that is to be shot? Informant saith, that his life was saved that evening, by the interference, as informant verily believes, of Mr. William Devereux, a Roman catholic gentleman, of Taghmon aforesaid, who was a captain of said rebels. That the guards who were placed over him that night, having a knowledge of, and a re-

gaid for informant, gave him his liberty, on which he repaired to a furze brake, where informant lay concealed for two days and two nights. Informant saith, he was advised by a friend to return to the said town of Taghmon, as the rebel camp had marched to Carrickbyrne, and which informant did on the second day of June, to the best of his recollection. That some days after, on or about the third day of June, he was ordered to repair to the camp of Carrickbyrne, in said county, which informant did from motives of fear. Informant saith, he was compelled to march with said rebels, on the fourth of June, to a camp at Corbet-hill, within a mile of New Ross, in said county, where the rebel officers fixed their head-quarters, at the house of one Murphy; that when he was returning thence, after the battle of Ross, he, this said informant, was taken prisoner by a body of rebels, at the bridge of Ballynabola, in said county. Informant saith, that one of the said rebels told him, that he had just put an end to an orange rascal, of the name of Byron; and informant saith, he saw, lying in a ditch at Ballynabola aforesaid, John Byron, a protestant inhabitant of the parish of Taghmon aforesaid, with whom informant was well acquainted; and that said Byron was grievously wounded, and covered with blood, and on the point of expiring. Informant saith, that said rebels called informant an orange rascal, and threatened to serve him as they did Byron; and informant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put him to death, but that he produced a pass which he had obtained from Brien Murphy, a priest of Taghmon, and that said pass saved the life of informant. That said rebels had a custom of warning the inhabitants of each townland to attend their army, under pain of death, in case of disobedience; and that informant was compelled by such warning, to attend a rebel camp at Slieve-kelta, sometime in the beginning of June, where the said rebels were on the point of trying him for being an orangeman; but that

informant was relieved by the kind interference of **Mr. John Devereux**, of Taghmon. Informant saith, that father **Roche**, a priest, and who was commander in chief of said camp, preached a sermon, or exhortation, to the rebels therein, of the following tenor: "That they were fighting for their religion, their liberty, and the rights of their ancestors, and that they must persevere. That they should examine their ranks, and if they found any orangemen, or disaffected men among them, to extirpate them, as they could not prosper or thrive while they had such among them." Informant saith, he was again taken prisoner by a body of the said rebels, at **Kilburn** mountain aforesaid, on the nineteenth of June, and compelled to repair to the **Three-rock** camp, near **Wexford**, where many thousands of the rebels were assembled and arrayed for the purpose of marching next day to fight the king's troops, at **Foulkes's** mill in said county: and that the said camp was commanded by generals **Bagenal Harvey** and father **Roche**, a priest. That the said rebels, in said camp, marched on the twentieth of June, to **Foulkes's** mill aforesaid, where they fought, and were defeated by his majesty's forces. That the said rebels returned on one night of the twentieth of June, to the said camp, at **Three-rock** hill aforesaid, and that the next day, on the approach of the king's troops, the said rebels fled in different directions, some towards **Wexford**, and others towards the barony of **Forth**, in said county. Informant saith, that a barn at **Scullabogue**, in said county, having a great number of protestants in it, was consumed on the fifth day of June; and that informant went to said barn on the seventh day of said month, to look for the body of one **Robert Cooke**, a friend, who perished therein, for the purpose of interring it; but informant saith, he could not distinguish one body from another, from the injuries the said bodies sustained from the fire. That some of said bodies were entirely consumed, that the heads and limbs of others were

also consumed, but the bodies remained entire, and very much discoloured. That the features of such persons as were not consumed, were so black and so discoloured, that he could not distinguish one from the other. That the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the floor. That some of the said bodies lay against the wall, as if in the act of praying. That a heap of the said bodies lay near the door of said barn, to which they flocked, as informant verily believes, for the sake of fresh air, to prevent suffocation. Informant saith, that he found a guard of rebels at said barn, and that one of said rebels told informant, and some others who were with informant, and seemingly with much joy and pleasure, that he, the said rebel, had been assisting in burning said barn, and in shooting a number of protestant prisoners, who were buried in the gripe of a ditch, which said rebel shewed, with much seeming satisfaction, to informant, and those who accompanied him. Informant saith, that said rebel informed him, that one hundred and ninety-nine persons were consumed in said barn, or shot at Scullabogue aforesaid, and that said rebel turned to one of his comrades, and said, the number wanted one of two hundred; and that said rebel told informant, that a man with a pike had been at said barn, turning up and examining the bodies therein, for money and watches, which informant verily believes to be true, as the said bodies showed evident marks of having been stirred, and as the bowels of some of the said bodies lay exposed on the ground.

WILLIAM FLEMING.

Sworn before me, this 20th day
of September, 1798.

WILLOUGHBY LIGHTBURN.

Redmond Mitchell's Trial.

On the trial of Redmond Mitchell, *alias* Miskelly, held at Wexford, the 16th of June, 1799, it appeared, that he was active among the rebels at Scullabogue, in murdering the loyalists, being armed with a firelock, with the butt end of which he was knocking and battering such of the prisoners as were expiring at the front of the dwelling-house. He had a pair of new boots on, which were much bespattered with blood, which, and a watch, he obtained from Loftus Frizzel, a prisoner in the dwelling-house, who, and Richard Grandy, were the only prisoners that made their escape. He was so much admired by the rebels, for his sanguinary and ferocious disposition, that they called him the true-born Roman.

He gave Mr. Frizzel his shoes on getting his boots. Mr. Frizzel gave Mitchell his watch and boots, hoping that he would save his life, which he did, and conveyed him to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne.

That numbers were trying to set the barn on fire, which was difficult, as the walls were high; that a number of rebels in front were piking and firing on the prisoners, who drew in the door to protect themselves; that they put a bundle of lighted straw in at the door, which set fire to the barn, which fire they kept up till the prisoners were destroyed; but many were shot dead before.

Trial of Matthew Furlong, &c.

On the trial of Matthew Furlong, at Wexford, in September, 1799, Robert Mills swore, that he was at Scullabogue, and was ordered to stand guard over the loyalists who were in the barn. That all the orders to burn the barn were resisted, till three men arrived and said, that a certain priest had given orders that the prisoners should be put to death; on which the rebels all set about the murders, and it was impossible to say who was most active. Orders were given to put any man to death who should quit his post at the barn. A man ordered the witness to guard the door, and not let the loyalists out. The roof was on fire, and the loyalists were trying to force open the door to effect their escape, but were prevented by the rebels, of whom the prisoner was one; and he made several stabs of his pike at those who endeavoured to get out, particularly a woman, and on striking her he bent his pike. He afterwards went to the forge of Scullabogue, and straightened his pike there. Patrick Kerrivan swore, that the prisoner, in assisting the rebels to burn the barn, lifted up the thatch with his pike, that others might put faggots under it, and that he called for more straw. That he saw him strike with a spear a man who was endeavouring to make his escape.

On the trial of Michael Murphy, at Wexford, on the 14th of September, 1799, it appeared, that he was raising the thatch of the barn for the admission of fire, and that he was followed by persons with lighted bushes, who were putting them into the apertures which he had made. That he and Matthew Furlong, who were guards at the door, speared a man who was endeavouring to make his escape. That the prisoner put his

pike under the thatch to make it blaze. That he and Furlong went afterwards to the forge, which was near, to sharpen his pike; and on being asked, whether they were all dead? the prisoner replied, "I'll engage they are all settled."

September 27th, 1799, on the trial of Matthew Revel, it appeared, that one gang of assassins, coming from Tintern with a drove of protestants, met another at some distance from Scullabogue, with Mr. Milward Giffard and John Moran in their custody, and that the two parties joining, went to Scullabogue together, and committed the prisoners to the barn.

On the trial of Patrick Furlong, at Wexford, on the twelfth of September, 1799, for being concerned in the massacre at Scullabogue, it was proved, that the messenger who conveyed orders to captain Murphy to put the prisoners to death, said they were sent by father Murphy, which corresponds with the following affidavit of Michael Askins.

County of Wexford, } MICHAEL ASKINS, having been duly
to wit. } sworn on the Holy Evangelists, deposes
 and saith, That on the fifth of June, he was forced to join a party of rebels, and proceed towards Ross; that when the party got within three miles of Ross, they met a man riding very fast, who seemed by his dress, to be a priest, That this man cried out, we are defeated, Bagenal Harvey has ruined us; I will go to Scullabogue and destroy every soul in it. Deponent saith, that the party he was with said, he was the stoutest priest in Ireland, father Murphy of Taghmon. That soon after, deponent and the party retreated to Scullabogue, where they saw thirty-nine bodies dead before the door, and the barn burned, and the roof fallen in. Deponent heard that one hundred and fifty

persons were destroyed in the barn, amongst whom were twenty-eight women and fifteen children; and deponent says, he heard the same from numbers who were there, and he verily believes the numbers were rather more.

his

MICHAEL X ASKINS,

mark

Sworn before me, this 18th day
of January, 1799.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

Feathard and Scullabogue.

On Saturday the 26th of May, a band of assassins, roaming the country in quest of loyalists, and headed by Michael Devereux and Joshua Colfer, entered the town of Feathard, about eleven miles from Scullabogue, and seized William Jordan and James Tweedy, both protestants, and conveyed them to the barn where they were burnt: the former was servant to the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, rector of Feathard, who had fled and narrowly escaped to Duncannon fort. Colfer often regretted that he had not that orange rogue, Mr. Kennedy, to put him to death; he exclaimed very much against protestants, and said they deserved to be punished. Some of the protestants inhabitants of Feathard saved their lives by going to mass, and by assuming the semblance of sincere conversion. The Rev. father Doyle, who acted with humanity towards them, advised them to do so, as the means of preserving their lives. William Hurdis, a witness on Colfer's trial, swore, that Patrick Murphy, one of the gang of assassins, made him swear to be true to the catholic war. These facts were proved on the trial of Joshua Colfer,

before a court-martial, held at Waterford the 3d of December, 1798, by order of general Johnson. Colfer had been malster to Mr. Clarke, a brewer of Feathard, resided there constantly, and had lived on terms of intimacy with the protestants.

James Murphy, a witness on the trial of Colfer, and servant of the Rev. Mr. Kennedy, swore, That the prisoner asked him whether he would kill his master, and declared that he would kill him if he would not. He said also, that all orange-men should be killed.

Philip Clarke, a protestant, and son of Mr. Clarke the brewer, who employed the prisoner, declared, that he (Colfer) desired him and his brother to be christened by a priest, and sent for a popish manual, to have him, his brother and sisters, taught their catechism; that, his brother and sisters, and other protestants of Feathard, were saved merely because they were considered as converted.

Richard Stewart, a boy of nine years old, brother-in-law of Tweedy, followed him crying, upon which Colfer threatened him. This child was afterwards murdered.

On Saturday the 2d of June, another band of assassins, headed by the same Michael Devereux, of Battletours, arrived there and swept away all the protestants they could find. It fortunately happened that they were but few in number, as most of them had escaped, or were doing duty in a yeomanry corps at Duncannon fort. The rebels were so zealous in this service, that they locked up such protestants as they seized, while they went in quest of others.

Samuel Orange, now living, is a memorable instance of this. He was taken by his own neighbours, Patrick Hennesy and James Savage, and was locked up in the house of the former; but while they were hunting for others, he providentially made his escape through a back window, and concealed himself in ditches till Sunday, the 5th of June, when Colfer returned with another gang, and conveyed him to Wexford, Scullabogue having been before consumed. Michael Devereux having visited Feathard again, on 3d of June, with another gang, seized Mrs. Duffield, aged seventy-five, Mrs. Clarke, and Philip Clarke, a boy of about thirteen years. John Jones, a humane and respectable Roman catholic, solicited the release of the prisoners; and on his knees, he implored him to discharge the latter, as he was the child of his near neighbour; but to no purpose, as he said he could not release him, consistent with his own safety. This shewed that he acted by the orders of his superiors, who were supplied with lists of the protestant inhabitants of every parish.

The three were conveyed on a car to Scullabogue, but fortunately for them, Bagenal Harvey, who happened to arrive there, discharged them, gave them a pass to return, and ordered that no more women and children should be taken prisoners. On the 9th of June, one Thomas M'Daniel, a sanguinary ruffian, went to Feathard, at the head of another gang, in search of Elizabeth Ennis, a protestant, who had escaped all their former searches; and when discovered, she threw herself on the mercy of John Jones, already mentioned, who very humanely locked her up in a room in his own house. When M'Daniel was on the point of breaking open the door, Mrs. Jones placed herself between him and it, and said they must first murder her. She also assured him, that she was no longer a protestant, having been christened by the priest, and was become a Roman catho-

lie. The poor trembling wretch's life was saved by Mrs. Jones's firmness, and her assurances of her conversion.

After that period, such of the protestants as remained at Feathard were saved by going to mass.

Father Doyle, the priest, assembled them in a house, under a pretence of baptizing them, though in fact he did not perform that ceremony; and he very humanely announced, in order to save their lives, that they were sincere converts to his religion.

These facts were proved on the trial of Devereux, Colfer, Haughran, and some others concerned in this atrocious business.

NO. VII.

County of Wexford, } RICHARD GRANDY, of Ballyshan, in said
to wit. } county, came before us his majesty's justices of the peace, and made oath on the Holy Evangelists, that he this examinant was attacked and seized at the cross roads of Kilbride, on Sunday the third of June, between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the morning, as he was returning from a farm he has on the lands of Kilbride, by several persons armed with guns, pikes, spears; that amongst the number were Michael Poor, Thomas Poor, Martin White, Richard Shee, Martin Colhoun, Nicholas Brown, Michael White, John Moran, and Lawrence Moran, all of Kilbride aforesaid, with many others, whose names examinant did not know, though their faces were familiar to him; he was conducted from thence to the rebel camp at Carrickbyrne, in said county, and in the afternoon of the same day was brought to Mr. King's house at

Scullabogue; that he was introduced into a room where he saw Bagenal Harvey, of Bargo-Castle, Esquire; William Devereux, of Taghmon; Francis Breen; Nicholas Sweetman, of New-Bawn; with a few more whom he did not know, but believes that John Colclough, Esq. of Ballyteigue, and a son of William Devereux aforesaid, were of the number; that he was closely examined by Bagenal Harvey as to the state of Ross and Duncannon fort, and whether he was an orange man or a united man; that the said Bagenal Harvey pressed him to take the united man's oath, and become one of their community; that at last he obtained a pass from said Bagenal Harvey, with which he came as far as Bryanstown, where he was stopped by the rebel guard stationed there; that he was conducted back again to Collopswell, where he met with said Bagenal Harvey and said Nicholas Sweetman; that Nicholas Sweetman signed the pass he got from Bagenal Harvey before; that he had not gone far before the pass had been taken from him and torn, upon which he was taken prisoner to Scullabogue house, where he was confined till Tuesday morning, with several other protestants; that about nine o'clock John Murphy, of Loughnageer, (who had the command of the Rosegarland rebel corps, and was the officer of the guard over the prisoners) had ordered them out by fours to be shot by his company, till thirty-five were massacred: that the spear-men used to take pleasure in piercing the victims through, and with exultation licking their bloody spears; that whilst this horrid scene was acting, the barn, in which were above one hundred protestants, as examinant heard and believes, was set on fire, and all consumed to ashes; that examinant's life was spared because Murphy knew that Bagenal Harvey had given him a pass, and that through his intercession with Murphy, Loftus Frizzel was likewise spared; that they were both tied and conveyed within a mile and a half of Ross, where they met Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius

Grogan, of Johnstown in said county, William Devereux, and many others retreating from the battle of Ross.

That Bagenal Harvey ordered the said Murphy to take the two prisoners to his lodging at Collopswell, where he had given a pass to Loftus Frizzel, but refused to give one to examinaht, for fear he should come and report what he had seen and heard at Duncannon fort; that deponent heard, and believes it to be a fact that said Cornelius Grogan* had the command of the barony of Forth rebel troops at the battle of Ross; that deponent was taken to Foulke's mills that night, where he continued for two days under a guard, dressing the wounded; that he was afterwards conveyed to Ballymitt, where he obtained a pass from Edward Murphy of said place, to pass and repass through his district for the purpose of curing the wounded. That he was sent to Taghmon, where the sitting rebel magistrates, John Breen, James Harpur, Joseph Cullomore, and Matthew Commons, were of opinion, that he might with the priest's pass have gone back and remained there; that he strolled along the sea-side, till at last he effected his escape across the ferry of Bannow to Feathard, on Friday the 22d instant, and from thence to Duncannon fort this morning; that he often heard it reported, whilst in custody, that John Colclough, and Thomas Macord, both of Tintern in said county, were very active in promoting the rebellion; that he saw John Devereux, jun. of Shilbeggan, in said county, at Scullabogue, on Monday the 4th inst. and that he seemed, and believes that he had a principal command in the rebel army. He likewise saw Charles Reilly, of Ramer's-grange, in said county, at the camp at Carryckbyrne amongst the rebels, very busy and active to promote their cause. Deponent further saith, that he attended

* It has been since ascertained, that this unfortunate gentleman never acted with the rebels, but by compulsion.

mass celebrated by Edward Murphy aforesaid, parish priest of Bannow; and that after mass he heard him preach a sermon, in which he said, "Brethren, you see you are victorious every where—that the balls of the heretics fly about you without hurting you—that few of you have fallen, whilst thousands of the heretics are dead, and the few of you that have fallen, was from deviating from our cause, and want of faith—that this visibly is the work of God, who now is determined that the heretics, who have reigned upwards of an hundred years, should be extirpated, and the true catholic religion be established."—And deponent saith, this sermon was preached after the battle of Ross, and that he heard several sermons preached by the priests to the same effect; that he likewise heard many rebels who had been at the battle of Enniscorthy and elsewhere, declare, that father Roche, a rebel general, did constantly catch the bullets that came from his majesty's arms, and gave them to his men to load their pieces with. Deponent further saith, that every protestant that was admitted into the rebel corps, was first baptized by a priest; and that every protestant that refused to be baptized was put to death: and that many, to save their lives, did suffer themselves to be baptized.

RICHARD GRANDY.

Sworn before us, 23d June, 1798.

GEORGE OGLE.

ISAAC CORNICK.

JOHN H. LYSTER.

JOHN KENNEDY.

No. VIII.—p. 359.

THE DESCENT MADE BY JAMES NAPPER TANDY.

*Rutland, six o'clock P. M. Sunday,
Sept. 16th, 1798.*

SIR,

ABOUT twelve o'clock a French brig came into this harbour, and immediately landed a number of men and officers, Napper Tandy at their head. They immediately enquired for the post-office, and came and posted a centinel at the door to prevent my sending off immediately: They demanded (though very politely) some victuals, with which they were furnished. I had a good deal of conversation with Tandy: When they found that their friends here had surrendered and were made prisoners of war, they seemed a good deal confounded; and, after taking a slight repast, re-embarked.

Tandy informed me that they came on a mere experiment, to try the pulse of the people, about which he particularly enquired. I reported this neighbourhood, as far as I knew, to be weaned from French principles, &c. at which he seemed surprised: he says, the French will never make peace with England, until Ireland is made free and independent.

They behaved very politely and paid for all they took.

The brig they came in, is called the *Anacreon*, about twelve days from Brest; they saw several English cruisers, but out-sailed them all.

I have sent expresses to Ballyshannon and Letterkenny.— They intend returning to France directly; they came north about by Scotland. Enclosed is a paper, A, several of which I understand they have distributed; also a certificate, B, signed by the officers, exonerating me from censure for admitting them into my house.

We have not any kind of armed military force nearer us than Letterkenny, about twenty five-miles.

I am, Sir,

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *Dep. P. M. Rutland.*

John Lees, Esquire.

*Rutland, September 17th, Monday.
eight o'clock in the morning.*

SIR,

I YESTERDAY (by post) informed you of a French brig coming into our harbour and landing three boats full of men; there were a number of officers, among whom was the redoubted J. N. Tandy, a brigadier, and commander of the expedition. Tandy, being an old acquaintance, was communicative; he says, positively, that France will not make peace with Great Britain upon any other terms than Irish independence; he appeared dejected on hearing of the fate of the late French descent, and of the discoveries made by Bond, McNevin, Emmet, &c. but said, they will certainly attempt to land twenty thousand men, and perish all or succeed; he was astonished when I told him that very few had joined the French; they took every pains to convince the people that they were their best friends, and such

stuff; they took a cow and two swine, for which they paid, and this morning, after firing a gun, went to sea, towards the N. East. I have dispatched an express, (a second one) to the collector of Letterkenny and am in hopes that some of Lough Swilly fleet will intercept them. They met several cruisers between England and France, but outsailed them all; they came north about. They were full of arms, the officers of the port were detained aboard them from morning (yesterday) until ten o'clock at night; they report them full of arms, a park of artillery, accoutrements for cavalry, clothing, &c. &c. They expected that the whole county was up, and that they had nothing to do but join their friends; the natives here all fled to the mountains, and seem not at all inclined to join them; we have not a military man nearer than Ballyshannon forty miles, or Letterkenny twenty-five, although there is an excellent new barrack here ready to receive one hundred men; they had a great number of Irish on board, their force about two hundred and fifty men; and are perfectly acquainted with the coast. Their drift is evidently to encourage disaffection. I was a prisoner in my own house four or five hours, until the post came in; they had centinels on every point of the island, to prevent intelligence being immediately dispatched. I am just informed by one of the officers, that they were determined to land their arms here, but upon a consultation, after they found their countrymen had been defeated, they altered their plan.

I have the honour to be

Your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS FOSTER, *P. M. Rutland.*

On their leaving my house, the general (Bry) took a gold ring from his finger, and presented it to Mrs. Foster, as a token of fraternity;—thus they cajole and insidiously endeavour to gain the weak and the ignorant, to the total dissolution of subordination and obedience to authority, without which society cannot exist!

John Lees, Esquire.

Papers distributed among the inhabitants of Rutland by Napper Tandy on his landing there.

PAPER, A.

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the first year of Irish Liberty.

UNITED IRISHMEN!

THE soldiers of the great nation have landed on your coast, well supplied with arms and ammunition of all kinds, with artillery worked by those who have spread terror among the ranks of the best troops in Europe, headed by French officers; they come to break your fetters, and restore you to the blessings of liberty.

James Napper Tandy is at their head; he has sworn to lead them on to victory or die. Brave Irishmen, the friends of liberty have left their native soil to assist you in reconquering your

rights; they will brave all dangers, and glory at the sublime idea of cementing your happiness with their blood.

French blood shall not flow in vain—To arms! freemen, to arms! The trumpet calls, let not your friends be butchered unassisted; if they are doomed to fall in this most glorious struggle, let their death be useful to your cause; and their bodies serve as footsteps to the temple of Irish liberty.

GENERAL REY,

*In the name of the French officers and
soldiers now on the coast of Ireland.*

LIBERTY OR DEATH!

*Northern army of Avengers. Head Quarters, the first
year of Irish Liberty.*

General J. N. Tandy to his countrymen.

UNITED IRISHMEN!

WHAT do I hear? the British government have dared to speak of concessions! would you accept of them?

Can you think of entering into a treaty with a British minister? a minister too, who has left you at the mercy of an English soldiery, who laid your cities waste and massacred inhumanly your best citizens; a minister, the bane of society, and the scourge of mankind; behold, Irishmen, he holds in his hand the olive of peace; beware, his other hand lies concealed armed

with a poignard. No, Irishmen, no! you shall not be the dupes of his base intrigues; unable to subdue your courage, he attempts to seduce you, let his efforts be vain.

Horrid crimes have been perpetrated in your country; your friends have fallen a sacrifice to their devotion for your cause; their shadows are around you and call aloud for vengeance; it is your duty to avenge their death; it is your duty to strike on their blood-cemented thrones the murderers of your friends. Listen to no proposals. Irishmen wage a war of extirpation against your oppressors, the war of liberty against tyranny, and liberty shall triumph.

J. N. TANDY.

PAPER, B.

Rutland island, 30th Fructidor.

HAVING landed from on board the *Anacreon* (a republican vessel from the coast of France) on Rutland island, and being in want (for the time) of accommodations, we were under the necessity of putting the citizen Foster, post-master of that town or island, under requisition, and prevented him from sending off his packet; we at the same time discharged every obligation, and paid for whatever we took from said place.

AMIEL, colonel,
aid-de-camp du gl. Desjardin

C. LUXEMBURG,
capt. d'artillerie.

L'E DUC, *capitaine.*

TANDY, *general of brigade, and commander of the expedition.*

REY.

BLACKWELL, *adjutant-general*

JOSEPH, *capt. et aid-de-camp*

No IX.

VINEGAR HILL.

Facts discovered on the trial of Andrew Farrel, a rebel captain; hanged at Wexford, 1800.

By the evidence of William Furlong, a protestant, it appeared, that he was taken prisoner by the rebels on Whitsun Tues-

day, 1798, and conducted to the windmill on Vinegar-hill, where he saw the Rev. Mr. Pentland, and the Rev. Mr. Trocke, three men of the name of Gill, and about thirty more loyalists. Farrel had a sword in his hand, and was called captain of the rebels. He desired the loyalists to fall on their knees and prepare for death, as they should be killed immediately. He then seized Mr. Pentland, and dragged him out of the mill by force, though he resisted as much as he could. He was instantly put to death, and fourteen or fifteen more immediately met with the same fate. Andrew Farrel told the witness, that he must know where there were arms and ammunition in Enniscorthy, and that he should be saved if he discovered where they were. He said he would; and on going there, his life was saved by a man who had been malster to his uncle. He saw Farrel distributing gun-powder to the rebels. He believes that only eight of the persons who were in the windmill escaped death.

Francis Bradely saw Farrel conducting to Vinegar-hill Philip Annesley, a protestant, who desired him to take his watch and money, and give them to his friends, because he said Farrel was taking him to be killed; but witness was afraid to comply with his request.

Henry Whitney, a protestant, who had been prisoner in the windmill, saw Mr. Pentland piked to death, and he believes that twenty-five more were put to death at the same time. He saw their bodies lie dead outside of the windmill. Mr. Pentland's, which was naked and bloody, lay separate from the rest.

When the prisoners were desired to go upon their knees and prepare for death, Messrs. Pentland and Trocke expostulated,

and begged they might be saved, as they were both clergymen. The former said he was a northern man, and had been but a short time in the country. He then offered his watch, which was taken by a man of the name of Foley.

John Gill, a witness, was a prisoner in the windmill, on Whitsun-Tuesday. The party who conducted him into it said, "Captain Farrel (pointing to Gill) there is an orangeman." Gill asked Farrel to save his life, as he saw him much in the esteem of the rebels. He asked him his name. He answered, Gill. Farrel replied, that is a bad name, prepare for death, you have not an hour to live. (Gill was a protestant name in the county of Wexford.) John Gill of Monglass was lying dead there. A party of rebels, with guns and pikes, formed a line in front of the windmill door, and behind them there were some men on horse-back. On being led out, he addressed the rebels, and asked them, if they would put a man to death without a trial? Andrew Martin, the executioner, who stood inside the line with a drawn sword, cried out, "Damn your soul, do you come here to preach?" made a stab at him, and wounded him in the wrist. Some of the rebels desired Martin to stop, and asked Gill how he would choose to die? He replied, as a Christian. A man on horseback said, are you a Christian? He answered, that he believed in the Saviour of the world, and that he hoped to be saved through him. Martin then said, "Oh! damnation to your soul, you are a Christian in your own way," and directly stabbed him in the side. He then fell on his face, and was stabbed in the back, and beat on the head with some heavy instrument. He still continued in his senses. His brother was next brought out, and having been asked the same question, boldly answered that he would die a protestant; on which he was instantly put to death. Witness then fainted, and continued insensible till his wife came for him in

the evening, and she found great difficulty in saving him, as there was an old man with a scythe examining the bodies, and striking it on the head of such of them as had any signs of life. She took him to the bottom of the hill where, finding that he had some appearance of life, she concealed his body. Next morning he was discovered by a party of rebels, where he was saved by a man who was to have married his daughter. About half a mile from the hill, he was met by two men, one of whom fired at him, and the ball grazed his head and stunned him. His wife, at her return, found him again, and from that time till Vinegar-hill was taken by the king's troops, he lay concealed in ditches in that deplorable state; but at last recovered, and is still alive.

John Austin was taken prisoner and conducted to Enniscorthy by one captain West, when Farrel was on parade with some rebels. West said, "Captain Farrel, here is an orangeman." Farrel ordered him to a rebel guard-house, where there were fifteen or sixteen loyalists, and swore that he would have them all put to death the next night. A Mr. Robinson who was there, begged that Farrel would save them. Austin was saved by the intercession of a rebel. John Mooney swore, he saw Farrel head a party at the attack of Borris, the seat of Mr. Kavenah. That after it, he saw him sworn in a captain, on which father Kearns, the priest, kissed him. He was called St. Ruth.

David Ogden, a witness, swore, he was taken prisoner by Farrel at Mr. Wheeler's house, where he had taken refuge. He took him and Mr. Wheeler, to conduct them, as he said, to Vinegar-hill; but they were released by one M'Lean, who threatened to go to the hill and discover there, that Farrel, on the day of the battle of Enniscorthy, disguised in woman's clothes, was robbing, instead of fighting the king's army.

No. X.

*County of the city } THE examination of corporal Sheppard of
of Dublin, to wit. }* the Royal Irish artillery, who being duly sworn on the Holy Evangelists, maketh oath and saith: That he this examinant, when on his march with a detachment of militia of the Meath regiment from Duncannon Fort, to the town of Wexford, was taken prisoner on the thirtieth day of May last, at a place called the mountain of Forth within three miles of Wexford aforesaid, together with two howitzers, and nine privates belonging to the said Royal Irish artillery, by a numerous body of rebels, who were encamped on the said mountain. Examinant saith, that as soon as the said rebels had made him and his comrades prisoners, they were going to put them to death; but that previous to their doing so, one of the said rebels asked them what religion they were of; and that a private of the said royal Irish artillery, whose name is Patrick Dungannon, replied, that they were all Roman catholics, though examinant saith, that he and five more of his said comrades were protestants. Examinant saith, he is convinced in his mind, that the said rebels would have put the whole of said party instantly to death, but that they believed they were Roman catholics. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades were conducted as prisoners to Wexford, on the said thirtieth of May, and put into prison; but that he this examinant and his comrades were committed to different apartments. Examinant saith, that while a prisoner at Wexford, he was taken out into a small square in the gaol to be shot, and that on being placed against a wall in said square, they the said rebel burned priming four times at examinant with a musket; on which father John Murphy, a priest, who had entered the said

gaol, cried out aloud, that he this examinant had longer to live; and at the same time, the said priest said, "Let the heathen go back to prison, and be damned." Examinant saith, that while he and his comrades were in prison, the rebel guards who were placed over them, frequently attempted to break open the doors of the place where they were confined, with an intent, as the said rebel guards declared, to murder examinant and his comrades, having often declared that they would not stand as guards over heretics; and that the officers of the said rebels with the greatest difficulty prevented the said rebels from putting them to death. Examinant saith, that during ten days that he and his comrades were confined in Wexford, they received no other food but potatoes and water; and of which they got but one meal in twenty-four hours. Examinant saith, that during his confinement, the said rebels took out many prisoners to execute them; and examinant verily believes they were put to death, as the said prisoners never returned to the prison; and he this examinant was informed that they had been shot or put to death with pikes in the Bull-ring, or in some other part of the town. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades were asked to serve in the rebel army by one captain Dixon, and by one Roche the brother-in-law of said Dixon, who wore two epaulettes, and passed for a rebel general; and that said Dixon and Roche promised examinant and his comrades commissions in the rebel army, and estates in some time, if they would serve in said army. Examinant saith, that he and his comrades, well knowing that they had no other way of making their escape from Wexford, complied with the desire of said Dixon, and the said Roche. Examinant saith, that he, and three of his comrades were conducted by the said rebel general Roche to the rebel camp of Gorey, near the town of Gorey, in the county of Wexford, on or about the eleventh day of June last, where examinant found three of his said comrades before him in said camp, and some sol-

diers of the Meath and Antrim regiments who had been taken prisoners. Examinant saith, that on the morning of the day that the said rebels marched from the said camp to attack the town of Arklow, one Murphy a priest, who was killed at the battle of Arklow that day, mounted on a car, and preached a sermon of exhortation to the said rebels, in which the said Murphy assured the said rebels that they were fighting in the cause of God; that the more of the heathens (meaning the king's army) they would kill, the sooner they would go to heaven; and that if any of them died in battle, they would be sure of immediate salvation; that said Murphy took some bullets out of his pockets, shewed them to the rebels, and assured them, that they had hit him at the battle of Gorey, in different parts of his body and limbs, and that they could not do him any injury. That said Murphy said further in said sermon, that he would take the gravel off the road and throw it at the heretics, and that he could kill them with it. Examinant saith, that another priest of the name of Dixon declared to the rebel general Roche, that they would take the town of Arklow in half an hour; that then they would be joined by twenty thousand men; and that they would proceed to Wicklow, and from thence to Dublin. Examinant saith, that said rebels wherever they marched, put to death such protestants as fell into their hands; saying often on such occasions, that the kingdom was their own, and that there should be but one religion. Examinant saith, that said rebels on their arrival at Gorey aforesaid, and just after the battle of Arklow, put many protestants to death, though they had served with the said rebels in said battle; and that when they were on the point of executing one Walker a blacksmith, some of said rebels pleaded in his favour, having said, that he had made many pikes, and fought well with them; but that father John Murphy said, that if there was but one drop of protestant blood

in a family, they ought to put that family to death; and that said Walker was accordingly put to death. Examinant saith, he repaired with the said rebels from Gorey, to a place, to the best of examinant's recollection, called Limbrick, from thence, to Tinnehely, and from thence to Carnew, and from thence to Vinegar-hill; and that said rebels in their march from Gorey to Vinegar hill aforesaid, killed all the protestants they could get into their custody. Informant saith, that he and his comrades made their escape at the battle of Vinegar-hill aforesaid.

ANDREW SHEPPARD.

Sworn before me, this 7th of September, 1798.

THOMAS FLEMING, *lord mayor of the city of Dublin.*

We, the undersigned officers of the Royal Irish artillery, do certify that Andrew Sheppard, a corporal in the said corps, is a man of an honest fair character, and that he is to be credited on his oath. September fourteenth, 1798.

J. STRATON, *colonel commandant, lieutenant-general,*
RICHARD BETTESWORTH, *colonel commandant, major-general,*

H. SNEYD, *major, Royal Irish Artillery,*
JOHN PRATT, *lieutenant-colonel, colonel brevet,*
W. WRIGHT, *lieutenant-colonel,*
J. D. ARABIN, *lieutenant-colonel.*

No XL.

GENERAL HUMBERT'S LETTER TO THE BISHOP OF KILLALLA.

" Dover, October 26, 1798.

" My Lord,

" Being on the point of returning to France, I think it my duty to testify to you the extraordinary esteem with which your conduct has always inspired me. Since I have had the good fortune of being acquainted with you, I have always regretted that the chance of war, and my duty as a military officer, have obliged me, in carrying the scourge of war into your neighbourhood, to disturb the domestic happiness which you enjoyed, and of which you are in every respect worthy. Too happy, if in returning into my country, I can flatter myself that I have acquired any claim to your esteem. Independently of other reasons which I have for loving and esteeming you, the representation which citizen Charost gives me of all your good offices to him and his officers, as well before as after the reduction of Killalla, will demand for ever my esteem and gratitude.

" I entreat you, my lord, to accept my declaration of it, and to impart it to your worthy family.

" I am, with the highest esteem,

" My lord,

" Your most humble servant,

" HUMBERT."

An account of the sums of money claimed by the suffering loyalists in the different counties of Ireland, for their losses sustained in the rebellion of 1798, and laid before the commissioners appointed by act of parliament for compensating them.

	£.	s.	d.
Antrim	17729	3	4½
Carlow	24854	14	7
Cavan	61	16	9
Cork	2501	14	11½
Clare	856	9	11½
Down	12129	—	8
Dublin	25829	16	—½
Galway	4814	—	3
Kerry	149	4	2½
Kildare	97090	2	11
Kilkenny	27352	8	9½
King's county	2461	19	7
Limerick	22	9	0
Londonderry	7	19	3
Leitrim	2316	19	1½
Longford	1046	14	10½
Mayo	120553	11	4½
Meath	14597	9	3½
Queen's County	1586	9	3½
Roscommon	325	19	7
Sligo	15769	14	9½
Tipperary	1577	9	8
Waterford	1321	18	9
Westmeath	2808	13	4
Wexford	515191	8	5
Wicklow	130379	17	0
Total	£ 1023337	4	

THE END.



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